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No. 49



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PARTY AND STATE

MEANING OF TRUE FREEDOM OF SPEECH DISCUSSED

Hong Kong QISHI NIANDAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 11, 1 Nov 79 pp 9-12

[Article by Zheng Wen [2973 2429]: "On Freedom of Speech, Etc."]

[Text] When I came to Hong Kong, I read many newspapers and journals, men of letters and scholars, all professing that they were objective, just, practical and realistic and were the mouthpiece of the people. Thus, my innocent faith was somewhat aroused and I began to speak like they did. However, gradually I began to feel that this was not the case at all. For instance, when you are hanging up a picture, you will find that it is properly hung from one angle while I will not find it so from another angle. I remember that, for some time, a newspaper published a number of articles protesting inspection of mail in the mainland. The articles said that: Due to the inspection, a letter from Hong Kong to Chaozhou and Shantou will take 7 or 8 days, which means half a month for mail to go back and forth. Time is wasted, work is delayed and the country's reputation is affected, and so on and so forth. Is mail inspection an exclusive phenomenon of China? I have not done any research in this respect. But I guess that, in every country, all those security personnel and counter-espionage personnel will have to do something or else they will be out of a job. So, it is a matter of how efficient they work; that is all. I think a drawback for China is the lack of modernized inspection facilities, which is one reason why the mail that goes into China is delayed. Also, China's transportation is not all that modernized; although it has automobiles, transportation to the border and remote regions is mainly by bicycles or even cattle-drawn carts. Also possible is that the iron-bowl working personnel are making mischief. But then, after living in Hong Kong for some time, I have come to realize that mail delay is not a phenomenon exclusive to China. For instance, jet planes fly several times in one day from Hong Kong to Manila. Theoretically, an airmail letter should arrive, if not on the same day, at least in 2 days. However, an airmail letter usually takes over 10 days, or at the least 8 or 9 days, which is slower than the old cattle-drawn cart in Chaozhou and Shantou. Why so? Since there is no way to find out, all I can do is fret and remain anxious. But I have not read a word of complaint in the newspapers. I believe it must be the Chinese virtue of treating ourselves severely and others generously!

Again, for a while, a newspaper daily called upon Beijing and Taiwan to vie with each other in receiving Vietnamese refugees. It was actually unfair to call it a competition, since at the time mainland China had not yet received any refugees, while Taiwan already had a group on its hands. It was like being in a racecourse; the horse that was cheered most vigorously was in the highest spirit. Later, there was news that Beijing had taken some 200,000 refugees. This call for competition seemingly died down all of a sudden. I thought that that was quite sufficient now that both sides had had equal shares of the game. But then, not long afterwards, another piece of news was spread: That of all the refugees who escaped from Laos to Thailand, not one chose to go to communist China. So the world of letters again became an active place--cynical and sarcastic articles piled themselves on top of one another. Again, after that, more news was spread that over 10,000 refugees in Thailand were applying to go to mainland China. This indeed spoiled all the fun. So, while several enthusiastic columnists were busy expressing their views, in their hearts they were waiting for chances to compile funny news.

So, I gradually come to understand the meaning of freedom of speech in Hong Kong. Such freedom of speech means to say what one wants to say and not to say what one does not feel like saying. There are bookstalls everywhere on the streets and there are hundreds of newspapers and journals, leftist, rightist and neutral. We can say that everyone has the freedom to speak or not to speak. But looking at it more carefully, we will notice that this is a freedom given to ourselves and not so easily given to others. I remember a friend Mr A once said: "You go ahead and try out this freedom! These days it is not so easy for a leftist to speak; he first has to follow the line, then he has to remember the united front. The neutralist needs stimulation and explosion. The rightist has a little more freedom but then one has to learn the freedom of spreading rumors. Thus, freedom of speech means to do what you like." I both agree and disagree with Mr A's views. Freedom of speech has its background and difficulties. Who does not know this? The Americans probably rank high in the world in terms of freedom. A Watergate incident could rouse public opinion which indeed could bring down a president. The capitalist system indeed had its ways. Considering this carefully, however, it was but a drama staged in the official circles. The altar of freedom of the American people in actual fact only lent a hand unconsciously to the master of another gang. But, no matter how, that embodied the typical American-style freedom of speech!

Although the Hong Kong-style freedom of speech has its limitations, as Mr A points out, after all it is quite a freedom. Compared to those places where there is not even one Chinese newspaper and where the Chinese language is not permitted, such freedom is even more precious. Try to appreciate this freedom: With a cup of coffee or tea before you, you casually turn the pages of a journal and read in it an article exposing the Chinese privileged rank. The article is written vividly; names are specified; and with a wave of the stick a group of people is hit. Although "there is no way of verifying the truth," yet everyone wants to read it first, since it is very satisfying to be let into so many secrets. Whether one comes to

detest the world and its ways, or feels downhearted and self-reproachful about China's hopeless future is entirely one's own business. This is the good point about the Hong Kong-style freedom of speech. The Hong Kong-style freedom of speech is also like the seasonal and fashionable commodities on the market in that there are all kinds of varieties. A while ago, I read an article analyzing the Chinese Communist effort in directing a comedy about peasants petitioning in the capital. It was a logical and credible article; you would at least half believe it. This was a rather skilful one, which was far more brilliant than that daily news on how the people on the mainland ate leaves in order to survive.

This land of fortune, Hong Kong, cannot talk about freedom in Hong Kong. Strangely, however, there are so many kindhearted people who insist on importing this freedom of speech into the mainland. I personally feel that, while innocence is a precious quality, naivete may not be so. China is like a person after a grave illness and feeling very weak. Some people recommend opium; this is intentionally malicious. Others bring him a large chicken and insist that he eat it. Their intention may be good, but they must consider whether or not it will be bad for the patient. The Chinese who are living in Hong Kong must not forget that they are in Hong Kong and that the situation and the people in Hong Kong are totally different from those in the mainland. Whatever you want to say you can say when you are in Hong Kong, and the people here will have their meals and make their money all the same. As long as you do not involve such questions as when the new Territories will be returned and whether the present situation in Hong Kong will change or not, then people will calmly listen to anything you say. But if you want to import this freedom of speech into the mainland, then you are involved in a question of blood type. Sorry, intellectuals, this is an affair of major consequence to the life of China. My belief is that you do not offer freedom and democracy in that manner. No matter what, China will not be made free in that manner.

Let China develop its democracy and freedom according to its model

What should we do about the freedom of speech of 900 million people? How to create socialist freedom of speech? China has had a very weak democratic tradition and a heavy ideological burden of feudalism and semicolonialism. The petty bourgeoisie forms such a vast ocean. Thus, the issue is made specially complicated and the progress of democracy is continually being interfered with. The road in the past 30 years has indeed been unsmooth. In particular in the past 10 to 20 years, many repeated and undeserved sacrifices have been made and much too great a price has been paid. But the real sadness is he who is therefore unable to see the grand poise of China in fighting against the tempest, who is like an eagle with broken wings and who has a heart in which love is dead. Presently, Hong Kong seems to entertain such a trend of thought, which regards China as the largest hell on earth. Whoever sees the bright side of China is a clown who flatters and is regarded as a "eulogist." In some people's eyes, the reality of China is darkness + starvation + autocracy. To them, China not only has

suffered from several illnesses, but is cankerous all over and is suffering from leprosy. People who maintain such a viewpoint may subjectively wish China well but will definitely not do anything that will benefit China.

Nonetheless, seemingly what is left in the tribune in Hong Kong today is the freedom to describe darkness. How unjust and how unobjective this is to the broad masses of compatriots in Hong Kong and Macau and the overseas Chinese compatriots! Distinguished personages of the intellectual circle who claim that you are just and objective, please calmly recollect: Have you really been objective and just in your painting of China in these past few years? Have you encouraged hearts to turn toward the motherland, or have you sowed dissension instead? Is this the ruler which all patriots should hold up against freedom?

I am all for freedom of speech. However, I feel that it is not easy for everyone to truly obtain this freedom. Since we all talk about materialism, then speech should also be integrated with objective reality. Freedom of speech should therefore be practical and realistic, should conform to the state of the country and the state of the people, and should take into consideration the extent of the people's awareness and receptivity. Some people say that tactic has become the fig leaf for the nobility, and therefore advocate getting rid of tactic. This somehow is as stupid as pouring out the baby as one pours out the water. Does it mean that, if we want tactic, objectivity, a practical and realistic attitude, we will have to put conventions on freedom of speech and therefore we will have no freedom? Not so. Freedom of speech is stipulated in the Constitution and is given to every person. What I am saying is that if an individual's speech can conform all the more to objectivity and can integrate more closely with reality, then the individual can obtain truly greater freedom. I remember the words of an American female writer (Ma-lian Ai-wu) "...You should first understand them. More than that, you should feel for them strongly. Understanding is based on the intelligence. Feeling is attached to the sentiment." She is talking about the portrayal of characters. But I feel what she says is appropriate here. All you gentlemen who wish China well need more than just an abstract, kind heart. You must truly understand the present condition in China. Also, understanding is still not sufficient. You must learn to take the people's stand and understand the people's feelings.

The Chinese has paid an extremely great price for his own historical tragedy. But he has never despaired! Let us take for instance the great proletarian cultural revolution, which the world's people describe as darkness and terror and which has been eradicated in some dictionaries. While they have shed much innocent blood for it, the people have also tempered and developed their strength amidst the glint and flash of cold steel. Maybe the leading personnel who initiated the cultural revolution had made an estimation that violated the reality of the situation inside the party and inside the country at the time. Although, in mobilizing the people and in initiating an assault against the bureaucratic ranks at all levels, this movement itself has not reached its scheduled goal and has displayed a

great extent of blindness, yet this revolution has assisted hundreds of millions of common people and cadres to wake up from the slavish thinking of ignorance, submissiveness and blind obedience, to see reality, to see themselves in this reality, to move closer to reality and to make a big stride in history. On the one hand, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were doing their utmost to vehemently promote deification and worship and vigorously engage in rule by feudal clans. On the other hand, the torrent of the cultural revolution was mercilessly lashing at the spiritual and customary shackles which had been handed down by the feudal rule for several thousand years and was pushing its own democracy ahead. (Now that we look at them, the '4 May' Movement and subsequent ideological movements in China were but several waves in the entire democratic course.) This course of struggle in which truth and absurdity and justice and ambition are so tightly entwined has formed the complicated course of the struggle in the cultural revolution. No matter how tortuous the road is and regardless of transient victories and defeats, what is fundamental is this: The seeds have already been sown. Although wave after wave of cold current attacked them and killed many of them at their early stage, and although many seedlings decayed, the majority still emerged from the soil. Once you have opened up their vision, you may blindfold them but the people will still grope their way and be led to a distant land. This is a truly tremendous force and cannot be suppressed by any reactionary force. The failure of the cultural revolution in a certain sense is the same as the failure of the Paris Commune. The cultural revolution is a different realm of development from the political situation in 1956 which many people recall with nostalgia and praise. Thus, we cannot make simplified comparisons and demand that history go back to that era.

I believe that the struggle today to criticize the privileged ranks is in fact a continuation of the task put forth initially in the cultural revolution. Today we can see even more clearly that the question of cadres--in particular the question of middle-level cadres--has become a key issue in the realization of the Four Modernizations at present. Today, the democratic movement that is in the making in China and the many revolutions and reforms in the production systems that are put forth for the sake of realizing the Four Modernizations are obviously inseparable from the gale and tempest of the cultural revolution and the cornerstone laid by the masses movement.

Today, while settling the unjust and incorrect cases, we must further realize that, when a movement is in the making, the broad masses of young people respond with their innocent hearts. They are indeed seething with enthusiasm and are willing to shed blood in order to safeguard the proletarian rivers and mountains. In those years when they were exposing and criticizing the mistakes of many power-holders, they were not always shooting their arrows randomly. We should distinguish this with their naivete, their being used by careerists and being led onto an evil path and their adoption of an erroneous method of struggle. Among them, this large group of loyal anonymous people, many have paid with their lives

for the movement. They are definitely not the scapegoats and vain victims whom the reactionaries and the vicious people despise. No, in the new awakening movement to promote the consciousness of the Chinese people, they have used their bodies to lay the cornerstone that leads to the road of democracy.

Today, Mao Zedong is being criticized by men for the many serious consequences of the cultural revolution which he initiated. Like many great figures on the historical stage, he is being examined. But, regardless of his merits and demerits, history will draw its own conclusion on the meaning of the cultural revolution itself.

In my opinion, when Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping said that the future generation would assess the cultural revolution, he was not giving a perfunctory and evasive reply. Rather, he was saying from deep down inside his heart that it was not easy to make a clear assessment of the merits and demerits of such an historical revolution.

It is not strange at all that there are all kinds of reactions to the cultural revolution. This is because people view it from different ranks, positions, breeding and experiences. My understanding is that, for most people, it is a mixture of love and hatred, happiness and pain, and is a complex feeling of wishing that iron could turn to steel at once. The people understand that there is not a revolution in which one does not have to pay a price. What the people regret is that: The price is too high and there are too many unnecessary sacrifices. That is why the people all over the country hate Lin Biao and the "gang of four" with such bitterness. Truly, it was these careerists and conspirators who, waving the ultra-Left banner, brought about extreme confusion and owed too heavy blood debts to the people.

If we strive to stand on the wave of history to look at the merits and demerits of the cultural revolution and to look at the unjust and incorrect cases that occurred in the cultural revolution, we will be all the more capable of adopting a sober and correct attitude.

I am grateful to someone for reminding me to read "Ding Ling on Her 20 Years' Experience" published in the August issue of THE SEVENTIES. This was indeed a good article, good because she talked about her personal realizations of the China in the past and at present. As an intellectual that lived in China, she was baptized by the Yanan rectification movement and had had unfortunate experiences for 30 years. But she was never "at odds with her country." In answering those people who equated her with the Soviet "dissenting writers," she said: "People who cherish this view understand so little about the experiences of Chinese writers in the old China, and also do not quite understand the feelings of the Chinese left-wing writers toward and their dependence on the Communist Party and Mao Zedong." I think this is because she can overcome personal grudges and clearly recognize the historical course of China! This is reminiscent of an interviewer's impression of Ding Ling: "Her understanding of the Chinese society was

reached by her participation and observation throughout her life, and her understanding was very profound." When we say this, we are definitely not asking people to forgive the errors and offences that occurred in the cultural revolution. We are only saying that all those people who truly wish China well as well as those fighters on the tribune of freedom who claim to be objective, just and the mouthpiece of the people must reach a more profound understanding of the reality in China and realize all the more the feelings of the Chinese people. Then, I think we will have even greater freedom of speech.

I think I can refer to two passages by Ding Ling from the record of the above interview as her footnotes to freedom of speech: "Now, quite the contrary, there is too little literary and art criticism. Many low-grade foreign films and Hong Kong films are shown in large cities. Before releasing them, there is appropriate propaganda; and after showing them, there are no summations accordingly. To show films in such an unanalytical and uncritical manner is not desirable. Some films made in Hong Kong are copies of things in the '30s. If we do not assess them, then the literary and art movement which has been launched for several decades will become meaningless." In another passage, in talking about "scar literature," she said: "I do not want to write sentimental works but want to write more optimistic and positive works. If everyone writes 'scar' works, the readers will be depressed and will have no spirit to live." Maybe Ding Ling's thinking is still bound by previous shackles, yet she has undergone 30 years of misfortunes without "dissenting." Her realizations, her feelings and her views should call for deep thoughts of those people who have never had personal experiences or who have even "once dissented"! That is to say that, the understanding of reality also involves the question of standpoint, feeling and attitude. Can we say this is imposition upon freedom of speech? Well, different people will interpret this differently. After all, this definitely is not an article that restricts freedom of speech. To a free tribune like Hong Kong, it is the bounden duty and "conscience" of these gentlemen who are enjoying such power of freedom to respect freedom.

Going back to the beginning, freedom of speech in Hong Kong is in fact the freedom of some power-holders to speak and not to speak. We truly hope that they will donate that part of their freedom not to speak to those who wish to speak, and donate part of their freedom to describe darkness to describe brightness. In this way, our freedom will be more complete.

Perhaps some people have already made preparations to link us with Mr "Eulogy" and even Mr "cultural revolution." Then, this is like calling a simple incident of Mr Miller asking the common people to reserve a seat for him before the tomb of Sun Yat-sen as an "expression of hypocrisy" and insisting on linking that request with the social order of "first come first serve" which he was used to. Then I have nothing to say.

Written in Hong Kong, 11 October 1979

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PARTY AND STATE

PEOPLE URGED TO TAKE PART IN POLITICS

[Hong Kong QISHI NIANDAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 11, 1 Nov 79 pp 6-8]

[Article by Chen Ruoxi [7115 5387 2569]: "Mistakes Which Must Be Admitted and Words Which Must Be Said"]

[Excerpts] The argument that "Chairman Mao has all along opposed individual worship" is like the tone of the "gang of four" which I was tired of hearing in China. During the cultural revolution, ideas were imposed on people in this manner. Chairman Mao did once express his dissatisfaction with acts of individual worship. But it was purely a matter of methodology. Not that he did not want it, but that people failed to flatter properly. In 1969, Jiang Qing watched on television a "dance of loyalty" performed by a three-generation family in Beijing and wept. This was because Chairman Mao was "uglified," which was a poor way of worship. Or for instance, at one time, Chairman Mao's quotations and portraits swamped the newspapers and journals and discussions-application meetings on Mao's works spread unchecked. But then, we did not hear a word of disapproval from our old man.

Professor He cited Chairman Mao's letter of 6 June 1966 to Jiang Qing to illustrate Mao's modesty and his opposition to individual worship. The letter was only published in 1972 in criticizing Lin Biao. At that time I was in Nanjing. For about 2 months, I studied it every day. In private, many teachers felt that the publication of this letter was purely a gesture on Mao's part to shed his responsibility. It was like what Peng Dehuai criticized once: "Being wise after the event." Many people even doubted whether the key passages were added at the last minute. Of course, at the discussion meetings, we unanimously said: "Chairman Mao is indeed brilliant! What a foresight he has!" If we did not say that, then for certain we might as well be prepared to be sent down to the grassroots level or be sent to jail.

It is true that Chairman Mao had been modest before. He once made statements that were "universally applicable." But he also made many statements that were only appropriate to the politics of the time. Thus, given a different time and space, his words can always be interpreted in contradictory terms; they can justify themselves or they can overthrow themselves. Li

Zhengtian, one of the writers of the Li Yizhe big-character poster, once used without quotation marks quotations of Marx, Lenin and Mao to butcher his oppositions (please refer to the essay "Kindly Step Into the Vat"). Professor He is a historian. I believe he will agree with one of the principles of historical scholarship, which is: "to listen to one's words, we must discern one's actions." Viewing in perspective the nation since its founding, we see that, for a quarter of a century, Mao Zedong has ruled absolutely. The major movements such as the Anti-Rightist Movement, the Big Leap Forward, the Four-Clearance Campaign and the Cultural Revolution were primarily designed by him. He was a heroic figure. But as a result of years of propaganda he had been deified. We definitely should not believe that he has "all along opposed individual worship" on the basis of his few modest statements. Otherwise, can we not allude to several lines in "letter to my son Jing" in "Passages of Fine Sayings of President Jiang" to prove that "Jiang Jieshi all along opposed individual worship?"

In fact, it is rather meaningless to try to prove today whether or not Mao Zedong himself "has all along opposed" whatever. What is important is that we should learn from historical lessons and put an end to individual worship in the future. That we do not criticize Mao on a grand scale now is entirely for the sake of the situation in general; for we hope that the Chinese Communist Party, which has suffered setbacks because of the "gang of four," can concentrate its energy on leading us all to realize the Four Modernizations and make new contributions to the people. Nevertheless, not criticizing Mao does not mean that we deny Mao's faults. We must not leave the task of assessing the merits and demerits of Mao in the 10 years of the cultural revolution to historians of the next generation. May I ask, who is more qualified to speak up if not the Chinese people who have personally experienced it? I feel that modernization is not in conflict with evaluating Mao Zedong and criticizing the cultural revolution (in many respects, criticism is favorable to mobilizing positive factors). We can walk on both legs, for the two things are not mutually exclusive.

I recently attended a forum sponsored by the University of Iowa on the future of Chinese literature, and exchanged views with some writers and professors on the call made by some overseas Chinese to China for "saying what we know and saying it thoroughly." Under the prerequisite of patriotism, we all agreed to the principle of speaking the truth. But many people were still worried; for instance, they would say:

"Since we do not have an all-around understanding of what is going on inside our country, how do we know that what we suggest is correct? So, the less we say, the better."

"Even if we present our views, the government may not necessarily adopt them. So, we may as well not speak up."

"Some shortcomings are not unknown to the government. It may not be good for China to expose them. So, certainly we will not utter them."

A careful conjecture will tell us that our worries are superfluous. Unless a person does not speak at all, there is no way we can guarantee that we will not make mistakes when we speak. We should say what we have in mind when we are among friends. If something is wrong, we can discuss it, criticize each other and point out the correct way. We all agree to speaking honestly and conscientiously. I also hope that I can put forward more concrete opinions and talk less in abstract and general terms. Furthermore, we should embrace the spirit of "perseverance"; if what we say the first time is ineffective, we will say it a second time, and if those in authority do not correct their mistakes, we will continue to speak up. Many people acknowledge that the Guomindang in Taiwan has become more enlightened and progressive in the past 30 years. This is the result of suggestions and protests by the Chinese people of and outside that island over an extended period of time. In exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" over the past few years, the Chinese Communist Party has revealed countless numbers of frightening scandals, which for a short while affected the party's prestige. But precisely because it was courageous in facing reality, it has not obtained greater trust and support from the broad masses of people.

As long as overseas Chinese can feel less worried about some things that will be disagreeable to the government and that will cause them to lose their chance of obtaining a visa for entry, lose the privilege of a free tour, lose the care given to their relatives in the mainland and the glory of being received by high-ranking cadres; in a word, as long as they can "overcome selfishness and foster a public spirit," then much can indeed be done. On the question of the Four Modernizations and the peaceful reunification of the motherland, if we can pool the wisdom and efforts of all those people overseas, one of these days, such a unity of will will become an impregnable stronghold. I have heard that China at present is planning on building a high-energy particle accelerator. Some overseas scientists feel that having such a high-class toy may not make China more advanced, and, not having it, may not make China backward. So, there is no point in wasting money and manpower. If overseas scholars can unite on this point and fight with the authority, then they will have done something beneficial to the people.

I have the highest respect for professor Lin Jiaqiao. But this time I cannot agree with his soothing words to professor He: "You have to understand that the government must have considered thoroughly the things about the motherland which we are worried about." Such a submissive consciousness of handing politics over to the government entirely is precisely one reason why party and government autocracy has intensified day after day since the nation's founding. The most arousing slogan of the Chinese Communists is "the people are the masters." May I ask, if the common people will not become involved in politics, will not supervise the government, how can they free themselves from the position of slaves and become the masters of the nation? I feel that the people not only "should be concerned about the affairs of the state," they should not treat trivial matters lightly. The age in which "the rise and fall of a nation lies in the hands of powerful contenders" no longer exists. Today, what we propagate

is this: The nation is our nation, the world is our world; if we do not govern it, who will?

I know that many many people are silently making their utmost efforts for the Chinese people, such as returning to their home country to give lectures, compiling textbooks and fostering scientific and technological personnel overseas for the motherland. I also know that, inspired by the policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend, the masses at home are eager to speak up and are doing their best to point out current evils. I hope that the cries for democracy and a legal system will resound through the skies. Many people will rather go to jail than remain silent. When Wei Jingsheng is seized, others will pick up from where he has left off and continue to explore what is ahead. If we truly love our country, we must identify ourselves with the 900 million people and must support their cries. If we have the opportunity to speak for our compatriots, can we have the heart not to? Let us encourage one another in this.

9335

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

MORE CRITICAL, CONSTRUCTIVE WRITING ADVOCATED

Hong Kong QISHI NIANDI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 11, 1 Nov 79 pp 12-14

[Article by Pan Shihong [3382 1102 1738]: "China Needs Articles That Are to the Point"]

[Excerpts] For over a decade in the cultural revolution, the journals inside the country only eulogized somebody's virtues and achievements. Now, 3 years after the "gang of four" have been toppled, there are still people inside the country who are for the "eulogists." What about overseas? Since the Chinese Communists began to expose their seamy side, many articles have begun to talk about the disasters of the cultural revolution. Some articles even moved ahead of the Chinese Communists in analyzing and discussing the remnant cases in history. Some discussions were acute and were not accepted by the Chinese Communists, who today advocate free airing of views. As a result, five patriotic publications were forbidden import. But the fact is that even in these five publications, articles that are to the point are extremely rare. Many articles after all are written according to the principles set forth; they shift all mistakes onto Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and try to justify or evade Mao Zedong's mistakes and the criticism of his works.

In the past, whenever the Chinese Communists had an important activity, such as the people's congress, the party congress, the diplomatic breakthrough between China and the United States, an important editorial would be written, followed by occasional articles published by many Leftist publications. What appeared to be propaganda pamphlets distributed to Leftists overseas were, to those people who were able to think independently, actually supplementary explanations by the Chinese Communists. Once there was a major change in the Chinese Communist policies, the editors would be up with a hard time. Anyhow, the writers were all suffering from amnesia. They had to forget what they had written the day before, and had to write what they had to write on that day.

There are apparently many impractical points about the plan for the Four Modernizations which the Chinese Communists have formulated. For instance, the steel output is too high, there are too few varieties of steel products,

the increase of power output is too low, the proportion of agricultural investments is too small and not enough attention is paid to enterprise management, and so on and so forth.

Many people have recognized all this, yet not an article has been directed against it. Why? It is said that we should not be discouraging. So the Chinese Communists have become all excited, and proposed the realization of the Four Modernizations ahead of schedule. Overseas, there indeed are people who pour oil onto fire and cry Bravo! Have they really forgotten the big talk about "surpassing Britain in 15 years and catching up with America in 20"? If the overseas Leftist publications and personages had criticized that then, it is not at all unlikely that the Chinese Communists would have revised their plan half a year before, and the assaults by the ultra-Leftists and the other factions inside the nation might have been prevented and a cold gust would not be whipped up in the midst of democracy. Could it be true that overseas scholars who last year enthusiastically cried aloud for the realization of the Four Modernizations ahead of schedule were really so unanalytical?

The Tiananmen Incident has been exonerated. But few people have spoken up in justice for Wei Jingsheng and Fu Yuhua, who advocate human rights. On the one hand, the people protest against the Guomindang for framing up charges against Yu Dengfa; on the other hand, they remain silent over the Chinese Communists' violation of the arrested human rights elements. Is this good for China? Can this convince the broad masses of neutral overseas Chinese to oppose the Guomindang and support the Communist Party? Let us not discuss whether or not Wei and Fu are guilty (that is the duty of the court.) But is it any different from the cultural revolution when such things as long-term imprisonment and absence of public trials are in existence? Whether or not Fu Yuhua has slept with foreigners is a question of her private life and is a moral issue. Are we to name every person who has committed adultery at the meeting of state leaders and transmit the message to every level? So China "loses" face because individual Chinese women sleep with foreigners(?) Some cadres in China have seduced women; but, occupying high positions today, what they have done is not allowed to be mentioned. I suppose this is a concern for the dignity of the entire nation? Shame indeed!

Obviously enough, "all people are equal before the law" means that there is no class discrimination that goes beyond the law. But now they are saying that there are citizens' rights and no human rights. People who have some legal knowledge can recognize the loopholes. Why are we forbidden to talk about human rights? Wei Jingsheng announced that he did not worship Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Some people say that he is guilty because he has violated the Constitution. Those people who say that have precisely forgotten an article in the Constitution, which says that there is freedom of religious belief. All religious people do not worship Marxism-Leninism (this is a basic knowledge of Marxism-Leninism). Does it mean that one is not guilty when one believes in Christ and not in Marxism-Leninism, while one is guilty when one believes in neither? Amen!

In view of the human rights movement, the Chinese Communists have put forth four perseverances. Let us not go into their vague definitions. First, we would like to ask whether these are the party's policies or are laws. The party's policies change continuously with the times and with events, while laws remain unchanging. If laws are geared toward the implementation of the party's policies, then what is the point of stipulating laws?

About the four perseverances, there are a few questions which I must not be silent on. First, "Mao Zedong Thought," which is the first of the four principles, is not defined at all. In the first place, Marxism is a social scientific theory summed up and created by Marx, Engels and others. But because Marx's contributions were greatest, the theory was named after him. Marxism is not equivalent to Marx's thinking. In his life, Marx also experienced unique happiness, anger, sorrow and joy. He liked Heine's poetry, and the Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers who do not like to read Heine do not necessarily oppose Marxism. Now, Mao Zedong Thought is different. The term suggests that we are talking about Mao Zedong's thinking. Thus, all words and actions of this venerable old man are recorded and, once transmitted, become highest directives. Mao Zedong did not like growing flowers, so all the flowers in the parks were uprooted and crops were grown instead. But then Mao Zedong had a special liking for plum blossoms, so the plum blossom, which happened to be the state flower of the Guomindang, became the favorite. During the cultural revolution, it was even printed in newspapers. Mao Zedong did not like Du Fu but loved Li Bai, so people praised Li and downgraded Du. Mao Zedong liked fire-crackers; so, in shattering four old customs, the custom of lighting fire-crackers was not shattered. Mao Zedong liked the novel "Dream of the Red Chamber," so it was the first novel to be freed from censorship. Mao said we could read Jin Ping Mei, so Beijing immediately printed it. Then Mao said he had never said that. So Wu De had to shoulder the charge of transmitting an imperial decree falsely (but Wu De also shifted the responsibility onto others, saying that someone had tampered with his transmission of the decree). Mao Zedong said he did not believe in election. So, for over a decade, several hundred millions of people were illegally deprived of the right to elect. It was obvious that Chen Boda was a Trotskyite, a bit of information which was disclosed long ago in Hong Kong publications, and it was obvious that Zhang Chunqiao was once in the Jiangsu Self-Examination Institute. Mao simply refused to believe that. So the two men were not examined, and whoever attempted to conduct investigations of them was considered guilty instead. The first four volumes of Mao's works still reflect some systematic and indictive talks by Mao, which are in a way theories. But, after the cultural revolution, Mao did not have any more theories. The transmitted quotations became shorter and shorter day by day; finally, there was not even any grammar left. For instance, "with you in charge, I'm at ease," "800 million people, can we do without struggles?" and "the bourgeoisie are inside the party." If we say that these were fabricated by the "gang of four" and Mao Yuanxin, then why were they so daring and why were these fragmented statements which they fabricated so effective in infuriating the heavens and the people? Does this not

indicate that Mao Zedong's speeches are indeed Mao Zedong Thought? So, the "always correct" faction would dish out Chairman Mao's words and insist that all should do as he said. The Chinese Communists have waged great effort in criticizing the "always correct" faction and in propagating the testing of theories through practice. In spite of the fact that they have extricated themselves from many deadlocks, they could not hit the nail on the head. On the contrary, they acknowledge that every statement by Mao Zedong is a theory, and therefore will have to examine them one by one. Now, they put forth the principle of persevering in Mao Zedong Thought. What on earth should we persevere in? Mao's individual thinking? Mao's speeches? We must admit that there are many mistakes, some of which are very serious, in Mao Zedong's individual thinking. These mistakes have brought about extremely great losses. We should discard them and definitely should not persevere in them. Otherwise, if we persevere in them indiscriminately, what is the point of criticizing the "always correct" faction? Today, when Mao Zedong Thought is not distinguished from Mao Zedong's speeches, persevering in Mao Zedong Thought is therefore only a copy of the "always correct" theory.

At present, many people at home are doubting the superiority of socialism. Thus, in the four perseverances, one is to persevere in socialism. A careful analysis will show that this is putting the cart before the horse. Why do we want socialism? Allegedly, it is because only socialism can save China. That is to say, socialism is the means and saving China is the end. Now, the Chinese Communists themselves admit that they have over 100 parties that do not believe in Marxism-Leninism. This is the same as admitting the fact that the socialist camp no longer exists. To persevere in the so-called socialism seems to suggest that only China can save socialism. Qualitatively, Yugoslavia and Romania are no different from Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland in domestic politics. It is therefore against one's conscience to say that Yugoslavia is Marxist-Leninist and Poland is revisionist. In the world today, nationality is still most important, and independence and sovereignty still rank first. The reason Yugoslavia is respected by the world is not because it is Marxist-Leninist but because it is not controlled by Soviet Russia. In the past, communist China put Marxism-Leninism and internationalism in first place and made the greatest national sacrifices to support Vietnam, Albania...and learned a profound lesson in doing that. In 1958, many conscientious intellectuals were branded Rightists simply because they criticized the domineering attitude of the Soviet specialists (the film "The Second Spring," however, slandered against intellectuals, saying that they worshipped Soviet revisionism). It is clear that the most treacherous act of Jiang Jieshi was to have sold Outer Mongolia to Stalin. Yet the history textbooks of communist China never breathed a word about it. The reason was because communist China acknowledged the Soviet Union at the time to be socialist. Actually, every social system has its good points and bad points. There is always a gap between theoretical assumption and practical execution. If we took strengthening the nation and enriching the people's lives as our aim, then we would have long ago solved the major issues of importing foreign investments,

reforming the planned economy and establishing an independent judicial system that concerned the national economy and the people's livelihood. We did not therefore have to go round and round and take so much trouble to find a cause for reform in the vast sea of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and we would not have been made so passive. How similar it is between using Lenin's words to defend the running of joint-investment enterprises and using Mao's criticism of Song Jiang to prepare the event of overthrowing Deng! We should do what is right and should not do what is wrong, no matter who says it is right. If we have to go to the classics for every speech and action, then, persevering in socialism is indeed terrible. Actually, the question is not whether or not we want socialism. Rather, we must not want socialism for the sake of socialism, and must not want socialism because we want to prove the superiority of socialism. Having such a prerequisite, we will not be considered heretic when we criticize socialism or doubt socialism.

After the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, THE SEVENTIES has, contrary to its usual practice, put the focus of the critical essays on exploring the extent of changes made by communist China, as well as its contradictions and insufficiencies. This is something new. Though different people will react differently to this, yet the articles are a lot more readable. If 1 percent of what the articles say is adopted by communist China, then we will have made some positive contributions to the benefit of China. Of course, I am not saying that we cannot agree with communist China in discussing problems, or that we have to do something unconventional and unorthodox. I am only saying that we should have more substance in what we say and must be to the point when we say something. If we say something is correct, then what about it and where is the key to it? If we say something is wrong, we must hit the nail on the head in our criticism. In the past, when communist China said that the "gang of four" were extreme Rightists, some people overseas chimed in with that tune. Either they were extremely ignorant, or they were after something. This is because the common people in China all knew that Lin Biao was ultra-Left when he was being criticized. But then the higher level insisted that they should not criticize the Left. That did not mean that the Chinese Communists did not understand what was going on. But for political reasons, they had to be in step with Mao Zedong's class struggle. As a result, a certain foreign guest asked a Chinese Communist leader: "You said that Deng Xiaoping is an extreme Rightist and that the "gang of four" are also extreme Rightists. Are they in collusion with one another?" I trust that those "Leftists" who are concerned with state affairs can still remember this ingenious piece of news?

Today, communist China has made a big stride forward. It has not only admitted that the "gang of four" are ultra-Leftists, but has also admitted that the biggest threat to China is not capitalism but feudalism. This actually is not a new discovery. In the early '70s, many young intellectuals going to the mountainous regions and countryside had, in their secret social investigations, touched upon this issue. For this, many promising

young people were arrested. Many investigations and reports, like the "5 April" poems, were put in cans and buried underground. To this day, communist China has not reported on this. One reason is that what they explored must be even more profound than what communist China admits today. At least, overseas scholars do not have to hide their articles in cans. Then why do they not speak more profoundly?

Opposite to socialism is capitalism. In attacking capitalism, there is also the question of whether or not one is to the point. A while ago, because communist China was criticizing bourgeois thinking, some people overseas also stepped forth and, sitting before their desks, wrote to "relatives and friends" at home. Adopting the tone of seniors, they taught the youths in China about the vices of capitalism. They were merely repeating the hackneyed themes of their predecessors. What they hoped was to be recognized by communist China, which would publish their letters in "references and news" columns. Then, their position would be raised. This in fact was despicable! For over 20 years, in China, I have learned about the corruption and decline of capitalism. Now that I am out here, I realize that it is totally something else. I am not saying that capitalism is not corrupt, or that questions are not serious. But why speak bad about something that is clearly good, and why refuse to see or talk about what really is bad. An article on RENMIN RIBAO in April talked about the medical and health system in the United States. Many serious problems were not raised. However, the article made such irresponsible remarks as: The reason for the drop in the birth rate was because the maternity expenses were too high and Americans could not afford to have babies. I do not understand why communist China has not learned from such an instant method of limiting population growth. Such myths have fooled the Chinese people for 30 years. As a result, the people have lost their faith and have blindly turned to worshipping foreign things. Still, we do not carry out self-examinations. Still, we cry the wolf is here. What benefit is this to our country and people?

Things do not come singly, but in pairs. There are "Leftists" overseas who write articles expressing grievances against houses and cars. They claim that they have to buy houses and cars and that therefore they have become slaves of cars and houses. What they actually mean is that for them to live in Western-style houses and ride in cars is more terrible than for the Chinese people to have families in which three generations are living together and to have to ride on bicycles in the rain and wind. Rather than trying to convince people, such articles are really aiming at saying things agreeable to some ears.

The many cars in America have created social problems and a secret worry. Many acute problems can be explored. But from a shortsighted and personal angle, having cars is better than not having cars. Why can't some people understand such simple logic of A B C?

It is excusable that one cannot speak sincerely when writing in the mainland. Did not you gentlemen see the tragedy of Zhang Zhixin, who died

cutting his own throat? If we who are abroad cannot speak honestly, then how will we be worthy of our future generations and be worthy of martyrs like Zhang Zhixin? To those people who are still worried about causing China to lose face by speaking the truth, I would like to share a maxim which I learned in political classes in the mainland, and that is: Achievements will not disappear if you do not speak about them, but shortcomings will get out of hand if you do not speak about them.

9335

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

OPPOSING BUREAUCRACY SAID NECESSARY TO PROTECT SOCIALISM

Shanghai SHANGHAI WENXUE [SHANGHAI LITERATURE] in Chinese No 9, 20 Sep 79
pp 71-74

[Article by Peng Yunqian [1756 7301 0241] and Yang Zhijie [2799 1807 2638]:
"To Oppose Bureaucracy Is an Important Mission of Socialist Literature"]

[Text] "Bureaucratic tendencies of every stripe are being nurtured in many working personnel in party organizations and national offices." "We must wage constant struggle against phenomena which are bureaucratic and divorced from the masses." These are battle cries issued to the entire party and nation at the Eighth Party Congress by Comrade Deng Xiaoping as a representative of the Party Central Committee. Twenty-three years have passed since then. In "Report on the Work of the Government" made by Comrade Hua Guofeng at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress there is another battle cry for us: "We will certainly investigate the administrative economic and legal responsibilities of those bureaucratic elements whose serious dereliction of duty and malfeasance have caused enormous loss to the interests of the nation and the people." "We should continue to encourage the masses to expose work errors and violations of the law and discipline in government offices, enterprise units and their workers, promote healthy tendencies and combat unhealthy ones." Literature, our socialist literature, is a part of party work, and in the face of the party's call to oppose bureaucracy should give full play to active militancy. This is an unalterable principle, and many of our revolutionary literature and art workers have achieved successes in this area. And yet what are the results? About 1956, antibureaucratic literature, centered mainly in the short story, flourished, but a good thing doesn't last long, and then the antirightist struggle began and these works were turned into the poisonous weeds of "anti-party, anti-socialism" and were suppressed. Today, 20 years later, after being dealt a heavy blow, anti-bureaucracy literature is springing up again and people are raising their cudgels again in a vain attempt to beat these works into "four anti" works (i.e., against the four things which should be upheld!)

We cannot help but ask: Why is this? How can echoing the party's slogans become "anti-party"? Why is antibureaucracy condemned as "attacking socialism"? Why on the one hand is our party in the process of rehabilitating and

exonerating writers and works which were faulted in the 5 or 6 years of antirightist struggle, but on the other hand some people want to use the "cudgel" used in those years once again to beat down the antibureaucracy writers and works which have appeared today? Does all this mean that it is because antibureaucracy literature itself has committed some "unpardonable crime"? Of course not. If just demonstrates that antibureaucracy must go through long, bitter and unyielding struggle!

So that the germ of bureaucracy will not wantonly eat away at our party's healthy body, so that antibureaucracy literature will not suffer a tragic fate again, so that the newly opened flowers and "reopened flowers" will become blossoms in the garden of socialism that cannot be uprooted, it is necessary to clarify through debate some rights and wrongs of antibureaucracy literature.

Some have given "labels" to antibureaucracy literature. In summary they are: "Anti"--politically, "antiparty, antisocialist"; "revisionist"--in artistic ideology "revising" the "fundamental mission" of socialist literature; "changing"--in social effect wanting to "change dictatorship of the proletariat into dictatorship of the bourgeoisie: and "restore capitalism." Actually, all of them are ultraleftist slander and libel directed against antibureaucracy literature. If we do not wash away this filth, the flowers will become poisonous weeds, if we do not take off the labels, socialist literature cannot reflect life accurately, and literature will lose its combative role and flourishing socialist literature and art will become empty words.

The "reason" those antibureaucracy works of literature and art were called antiparty, antisocialist and "most masterful" was "is this what the party leadership is like?" Actually, this statement should be directed against those who did the censuring: Does the image of these bureaucrats represent the party leadership? If what the works clearly deny is the bureaucracy which does not conform to the interests of the party and does not deny the party leadership, how can this be "attacking the party leadership"? Of course, literary works always express the universal through the particular, and the meaning of antibureaucracy literature is in describing "this one" and teaching about "all those." But this is not opposing the party leadership. The greatest characteristic of antibureaucracy literature isn't that it opposes "officials" but that it opposes some "officials" who are seriously bureaucratic. Some people saw only that the people criticized were section chiefs or bureau chiefs and did not see the great danger to the people of the bureaucracy in these section chiefs themselves, so they took up their cudgels and beat them all. Isn't this contrary to supporting the party leadership?

Historical experience is worth our attention. If we carefully analyze the antibureaucracy works which appeared in 1956 and 1957 we can readily learn whether these works opposed the party or defended the party.

Brigade Leader Lo Lizheng [5012 4539 2973] of the Bridge Brigade in "Zai Qiaoliang Gongdishang" [0961 2890 2733 1562 0966 0006] [At the Bridge Building Site] is a complacent and conservative bureaucrat. He has a pet

phrase: "Achievement is the main thing!" No matter how many problems appear in the work or how great the loss to the party, in his eyes, "achievement" is the main thing. Within his jurisdiction, achievement became "a fig leaf" for covering deficiencies; achievement became a shield to ward off criticism; achievement became a political label to pin on the masses. Whoever pointed out shortcomings or errors in his work had committed the error of "ignoring achievement." He also had a trick for guaranteeing that he would "not make a mistake," which was that he "did his utmost" to carry out "the intent of the leadership." It wasn't that Lo Lizheng didn't know that sometimes his secrets of success created problems, but thought that "doing things according to executive orders, even if they violated party policy, responsibility wouldn't be laid on the lower echelons." If the people in his "lower echelons" looked into responsibility he would pin a label on them and say it was "anti-party behavior," and consider them dangerous elements." Bureaucrats like Lo Lizheng are the cadres with "serious arrogant self-satisfied feelings" which Comrade Deng Xiaoping referred to in his report to the Eighth Party Congress. "They exaggerate the role of the individual, emphasize the prestige of the individual and can only make people flatter and praise but cannot tolerate criticism and supervision and even some persons of poor character can suppress and take revenge on their critics."

Deputy Head Liu Shiwu [0491 0013 0710] of the Organization Section in "Zuzhibu Xinlaide Qingnian" [4809 4930 6752 2450 0171 4104 7230 1628] [Young Man Newly Come to the Organization Section] is another type of bureaucrat--the ideologically indifferent type. He has a saying: "That's the way it is." He has ability and intelligence, it's just that he thinks when "conditions are ripe" he can operate resolutely. In reality, his "intelligence" is only the "intelligence" of the "loafer elements" criticized by Lenin. This kind of bureaucrat can cause cadres "to unconsciously get into the hangman's noose." (Lenin's Complete Works, Vol 35 p 537) Just as Zhao Huiwen [6392 1979 2429] said in the story, "Their shortcoming is scattered in our work achievements like dust scattered in beautiful air," if we do not constantly work to sweep away the dust and clean the air there will be the danger of gradual poisoning!

Chen Lidong [7115 4539 2767] the editor-in-chief of the XINGUANG RIBAO [2450 0342 2480 1032] in the story "Benhao Neibu Xiaoxi" [2609 1032 0355 6752 3194 1873] [News From Inside the Paper] is a bureaucrat who is cautious, conscientious and diligent but divorced from the masses and rigid in his thinking. Because of his subjective assertions his initiative suppressed the initiative of others; because he lost his sensitivity, his ideological rigidity led to rigidity in the newspaper. All this becomes a habit without his realizing it. "Comrades who make this mistake may do their work poorly." (Comrade Deng Xiaoping's "Report to the Eighth Party Congress.") Finally, Chen Lidong was punished: inside a day the newspaper he edited lost two-thirds of its readers. Chen Lidong's punishment was a "public opinion poll." Sooner or later, rigid thinking leadership will suffer this punishment, but only if one isn't a dead bureaucrat, one should ponder Ma Wenyuan's impassioned statement to Chen Lidong: "Everyone can only follow orders and in all things let Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee think for us. What is this

like? If one is a communist and doesn't have a brain--can he be considered a communist?... This is the kind of person who does his work and obeys the regulations and is neither corrupt nor degenerate. Everything is fine. But there's just one thing: he's not upset if he sees the nation cheated and doesn't feel sorry if the people suffer. Can such a person be considered a communist?"

We have recalled some workers sketchily and can clearly see that antibureaucracy works which appeared in 1956 and 1957 (including "Pa Zai Qiganshangde Ren" [3632 0961 2475 2616 0006 4104 0086] [The Man Who Climbed the Flagpole] and "Gaixuan" [2395 6693] [Reelection] in the collection "Chongfangde Xianhua" [6850 2397 4104 7639 5363] [Flowers Blooming Again]). They truly reflected life, said what the people wanted to say, had a fresh party spirit, thus they were welcomed by the readers as they should have been. At the time, in a very short period of time WENYI XUEXI [2429 5669 1331 5045] received over 1,300 letters from readers praising Wang Meng's [3769 5536] "Young Man Newly Come to the Organization Section" as "exposing the bureaucratic dirt existing in real life," "being good and having positive significance." Today we reread these works and still feel they have intense reality and play an inspirational role in opposing bureaucracy and sweeping away obstacles to the Four Modernizations. And yet Yao Wenyuan, who wielded a cudgel, vilified these works as "antiparty works" and said such nonsense as that in these works we could see "the basic rightwing antiparty tactics." The question of who is antiparty has already most definitively been answered by over 20 years of practice in struggle. What is really antiparty is not the authors of these works, but those like Yao Wenyuan, who raise the banner of "Protect the party." Today the reason bureaucracy and special privilege thinking exists so seriously in some cadres is a "contribution" of such ultraleftists as Yao Wenyuan.

It should be said that the antibureaucracy struggle led by our party is a more formidable task today than the one it faced in 1956 and 1957. Bureaucratic and special privilege thinking has already seriously injured the healthy organism of the party, and yet there are still some people who think it cannot be opposed, especially that it cannot be opposed in literary works! When these antibureaucracy and antispecial privilege works first appear, some people couldn't wait to denounce them saying: this the "literature of exposure," that it "points the spear of exposure at the party," that it "violates the basic principles of socialist literature," that it "lacks virtue"...etc. But revolutionary literature cannot be condemned, writers with a high sense of revolutionary responsibility cannot be intimidated, new antibureaucracy literature is now surmounting one obstacle after another, removing a variety of obstructions, tenaciously growing and fighting. We have feelings of incomparable delight on reading this group of new antibureaucracy works, such as "Qingshui Yamen" [3237 3055 5895 7024] [The Water Yamen] (SHANGHAI WENXUE [0006 3189 2429 1331] No 5, 1979), "Yige Meiyou Jianbangde Ren" [0001 0222 3093 2589 5144 5218 4104 0086] [A Man With No Shoulders] (FENSHUI [3083 3055] No 4, 1979), and "Qiao Changzhang Shangren Ji" [0289 0617 7022 0006 0117 6068] [Plant Manager Qiao Assumes Office"] (RENMIN WENXUE [0086 3046 2429 1331], No 7, 1979) one feels deeply that compared to the antibureaucracy works in "Flowers Blooming Again" these works embody the spirit of a new time.

Compared to their "colleagues" of 20 years ago, today's bureaucrats have "new" "progress." This "progress" is not revealed in any heightening of awareness, but in acting more willfully and more unscrupulously. Their bureaucracy is frequently combined with special privilege thinking and gaining advantages through "pull," and has become a general "source" in society of the improper style which hinders the realization of the Four Modernizations. The three characteristic present-day bureaucratic phenomena of "eat," "reap," and "push" are vividly described in these works, "Eat" means living off one's past gains, not only the gains one made by shedding blood and sweat and for the revolution before Liberation but also living off the "gains" of being "persecuted" by the "gang of four." Although they really weren't persecuted by the "gang of four," because they knew the "glory of being persecuted" they have tacked on the word "past" themselves, thus they do their utmost to gain the label "old cadres" who in the past were regarded as enemies by the "gang of four" and avoided them as much as possible so they could "eat" to their heart's content. For example, Zhuang Qimin [8369 0796 3046], the chairman of the Water Company Revolutionary Committee in "The Water Company," is always calling himself "an old cadre who was persecuted," but apart from managing to get an "old" added on, the "being persecuted" part had nothing to do with him. In the early period of the Great Cultural Revolution, as a middle-level cadre, "was the earliest he stood out for revolution," he "someplace laid hands on a yellow army cap to wear" and "became a quasi-rebel"; after the smashing of the "gang of four" "he quietly exchanged the yellow army cap for a black woolen cap and became a complete revolutionary cadre." The fact that this man keeps changing his hat exposes the fact that he is only wearing the most popular brand to swindle and bluff, the aim of which is to "reap"--to take advantage of a time when our party and nation are in difficulty to seize a faction, control a "domain" and seek an opportunity to reap some profit from disorder. Zhuang Qimin uses the water company he controls to "get rich from water difficulties."

If there is "reaping," there must be "pushing," "reaping" is for oneself, "pushing" is for "taking care." The safety of the editor of the newspaper in "A Man With No Shoulders" is a model of all "pushing." Before the Cultural Revolution he may have worked as "energetically" as his colleague Chen Lidong, but the looting by the "gang of four" made his "zeal gradually cool off, his actions become sluggish and in many regards he became smooth shouldered." He wasn't as impulsive as Chen Lidong, but he was more "steady" than Chen, because in his view "being steady means the newspaper was steady, and steadiness was prudence, prudence was better than disorder and steadiness is always better than unsteadiness and making mistakes!" To "take care" he "pushes" off all his "burdens" and almost as if he were escaping a disaster he runs and hides from all contradictions. We can imagine that with such a "man with no shoulders" running a newspaper, the newspaper's fate couldn't be any better than Chen Lidong's XINGUANG RIBAO.

For this "eating," "reaping," "pushing" type bureaucrat, "eating" is good, "pushing" is good, but ultimately it is for "reaping." He wants to put into his own pocket as much as possible of the results of the victories won by the revolutionary people and the revolutionaries of the older generations

through decades of bitter struggle. If this sort of phenomenon is allowed to spread unchecked, the blood and sweat of 900 million people will be "reaped" dry by these people day by day. Our socialist mansion also is in danger of being "eaten" empty and "pushed" over. This definitely isn't just a scare tactic. Our great teacher Lenin said early on, "Bureaucracy is the greatest defect in the work of our economic agencies. Communists become bureaucrat. If there is anything which can destroy us, it is this." (Lenin's Complete Works, Vol 35 p 552)

Since bureaucracy is such a great danger, and since the antibureaucracy struggle concerns the fate of our party and nation, why do some people insist on opposing literary works dealing with this subject? Initially, some comrades understood the "basic task" of socialist literature and art in this way: They thought our literature and art could only praise the people and expose the enemy. If literary works reflected the antibureaucracy struggle, that was "aiming the spear of exposure" "at socialist, dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party, at the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought," in a word, they were "four anti" works! Actually, this viewpoint was a leftist "revision" of the basic task of revolutionary literature and art which Comrade Mao Zedong explained in his "Talks." Comrade Mao Zedong said: "All reactionary forces which threaten the masses of the people must be exposed, all the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people must be praised, this is the basic task of revolutionary artists and writers." Does this mean that bureaucracy isn't a reactionary force which threatens the people? Does this mean that such "reactionaries" should not be "exposed"? Many antibureaucracy works clearly take the standpoint of the party and the people, so how can one put them in opposition to praising the "promise" of socialism? In fact, if one can love, then one can hate, if one can love and hate, then one can write. Exposing bureaucracy is protecting the socialist system and also at the same time that these works "expose the reactionary" to different degrees, they fashion progressive characters who struggle with bureaucracy, so how can one say there is no praise? Suppose we take "Plant Manager Qiao Assumes Office" as an example. The work not only lashes deputy plant manager Ji Shen [0370 3947] for his careful manipulations while gradually rising to be a bureaucrat, but also created a new image of plant manager Qiao, the new long marcher. Who can say this isn't praising the new society and new man with great enthusiasm?

The antibureaucracy question has increasingly received the people's concern as the socialist revolution and construction develops. We are revolutionary literature and art workers and definitely cannot embellish reality; we should bravely pick up our pens and struggle with bureaucracy: This is an important mission of socialist literature.

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PARTY AND STATE

PRACTICE SHOULD BE CRITERION FOR TESTING TRUTH

Beijing ZHEXUE YZNJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 9, Sep 79 pp 3-9

[Article by Lei Zhenwu [7191 2182 2976]: "Uphold Materialism, Carry Out Practice as the Criterion for Testing Truth"]

[Text] The discussions on the criterion for testing truth, held across the nation last year, have played an extraordinarily positive role in the emancipation of our thinking, breaking through the "taboo areas," returning to order from disorder, cleansing our ideological sources, and enabling us to comprehensively and correctly understand and master Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The way these discussions proceeded also illustrated that, in order to restore the relationship between theory and practice, which had been basically reversed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," it is still necessary for us to further emancipate our thinking and carry out even more penetrating studies and discussions with respect to certain questions.

In conjunction with the criticism of the reactionary thought of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" some time ago, certain comrades also criticized the preposterous idea suggested by certain people that "once a Marxist theory is proposed, it automatically becomes truth and does not need to undergo any test through practice"; these comrades thereby also acknowledged the Marxist principle, in this regard, that practice is the only criterion for testing truth. All this, no doubt, was quite correct. But some comrades have failed to carry this principle through to the end, saying: The reason why a Marxist theory automatically becomes truth once it is proposed is because it was "already a scientific truth tested by practice" [before it was proposed]. They also said that, similarly, the reason why the line of our party's 11th Congress has been truth ever since it was proposed is because it was proposed on the basis of a summing up of more than 20 years of our experiences in the conduct of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and especially of a criticism of the counterrevolutionary line promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Thereafter, they added a further footnote by saying: "What is summed up from such practical experience is, in fact, truth already tested by practice." Under the influence of this type of interpretation, some people also followed

suit by saying that they were "derived from practice; therefore they are truths as a matter of course." If anyone should disagree with such a view, they would blame him for "separating the proposing of these truths and their testing through practice, or putting the one in opposition to the other."

I do not agree with their interpretations in this matter. These questions happen to be important ones concerning how to carry out practice as the criterion for testing truth through to the end, concerning how to comprehensively and correctly understand and master the basic theories of Marxist philosophy, and concerning how we can further eliminate the remaining poison and influence emanating from Lin Biao and the "gang of four." For this reason, it is necessary for comrades to conduct even more studies and discussions so as to ultimately establish the distinction between right and wrong and to raise the level of our perception.

I. The Theories That Have Been Derived From Practice Must Be Returned to Practice for a Test of Their Truthful Nature

Marxist philosophy holds that the point of view of practice is the primary and fundamental point of view of the theory of dialectic-materialistic cognition. It stresses theory's dependent relationship with respect to practice and considers that theory originates from practice and in turn serves practice itself and, in doing so, therefore continually accepts tests provided by practice while also continually verifying its own truthful nature. This fundamental point of view of the Marxist theory of cognition fully reveals the decisive role played by practice in the rise and development of truth, its testing and promotive effect on truth, as well as the relationship of dialectical unity between the two. This is ordinarily something well known to everyone. Yet, some comrades have doggedly held the view that the theories that are derived from practice can only be "natural truths" or "scientific truths" and that there should be no more need for them to be returned to practice for any test or verification.

From the standpoint of the dialectic-materialistic theory of cognition, we cannot consider this interpretation to be correct. Comrade Mao Zedong said that all cases of correct cognition or theories must originate from practice. This thesis is entirely correct. But we absolutely cannot take the reverse--that all theories derived from practice must be correct--as something equally true. Nor can we take all theories that have originated from practice as necessarily "natural truths" already tested by practice. Generally speaking, a theory is a summing up and a generalization in relation to practical experience. But because man's understanding is often limited and influenced by many subjective and objective factors, a theory summed up on the basis of such practical experience may not always correspond to the realities in the objective outside world. Two different situations may emerge in this regard: One is a correct reflection of objective realities, which would be actual truth; the other is a twisted reflection that does not correspond to objective realities, and cannot but be falsehood.

The history of man's cognitive processes have repeatedly proved to us that two different or even totally contradictory viewpoints may emerge from theories summed up on the same basis of practice. Facts of this sort are quite numerous and easily witnessed in our personal experiences. Logically speaking, when two different viewpoints emerge, both of them cannot be equally correct, and among them one must be correct and one must be erroneous. Of course, the possibility that both of them are erroneous cannot be excluded here, either. Since certain theories have taken shape entirely from practice or on the same basis of practice, then why should two very different situations emerge in the end? Generally speaking, this is because the process of man's cognition is not such a simple straight-line reflection as taking a photograph; it is, instead, made up of a series of extremely tortuous, complicated abstract and generalizing thinking processes.

We all know that in the shaping of a theory, no matter from what kind of practice or under how correct a guiding ideology, a processing by way of man's brain is always required. The function of such processing through thinking means arriving at the formulation of concepts and theoretical systems through such steps as revising and regenerating on the basis of those rich, vivid sensual data derived from practice by absorbing the quintessential and eliminating the coarse, absorbing the true and eliminating the false, speculating from this factor to that factor, and penetrating from the superficial to the profound. But in undertaking such steps of revision and regeneration, man's cognition is often susceptible to this or that kind of deviation or error because of the limitations imposed on this processing work by many objective historical conditions, by the level of scientific development, and by man's subjective ability in achieving cognition, especially because of the influence of a different world on each individual--i.e., the influence of everybody's standpoint, viewpoint, and approach in this regard, plus the infinite nature of the outside world's development and the complexity of the process through which contradictions are exposed. Sometimes people are wont to take accidental things as inevitable, apparent and illusory things as substantive, relative things as absolutes, good persons as bad, contradictions among the people as contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, etc., etc. Examples of this sort are innumerable, and the overall implication is that, because of the limitations and influence of many objective and subjective factors, man's cognition often becomes colored by various degrees of subjectivity, partiality, and superficiality, which in turn manifest themselves in the form of deviation and error and even cause an error to develop to an extremely serious point. Comrade Mao Zedong constantly taught us: "In such a situation, ideas, theories, plans or programs are usually altered partially, and sometimes even wholly, because of the discovery of unforeseen circumstances in the course of practice. That is to say, it does happen that the original ideas, theories, plans, or programs fail to correspond with reality either in whole or in part and are wholly or partially incorrect" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol I, p 270).

When we say here that theories that are derived from practice are not necessarily all correct, we are by no means denying a theory's dependent

relationship in respect to practice, and still less do we allege that practice itself might be the root cause of the error that eventually goes into theory. On the contrary, I think practice is not only the only source and basis of man's understanding of the objective world's laws of development, not only the only criterion for testing truth and a great force propelling theoretical development, but also an indispensable premise guaranteeing man's correct cognition apart from which no one can speak of correct cognition whatsoever. Yet we must also acknowledge that, while practice is an indispensable premise guaranteeing man's correct cognition, it is by no means the only or total condition for doing so, and hence it is far from being capable of guaranteeing that all theories derived from practice are necessarily correct. We know that, apart from the source and basis of practice, correct cognition requires also comprehensive, sufficient, and genuine senseful data, a correct guiding ideology, a scientific thinking method, the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, etc. In the absence of any of these conditions, it is always possible for a cognitive process to be led toward erroneous conclusions.

If, as some comrades have been saying, all theories that are summed up from practice are necessarily correct or can be regarded as "natural truths" that have already gone through the test of practice, then everything would become very simple: different opinions would no longer appear among people; any fine ideal would unconditionally become reality; and people would no longer commit mistakes in their work. But the real situation is far from this. Contention between two different opinions is a constant occurrence. Erroneous cognition and failure in work likewise appear regularly. Since it is possible for practically derived theories to be both correct and erroneous, then how are we going to judge their correctness, their error, or their degree of truthfulness? Just as our revolutionary teacher told us, the only way is once more to submit those practically derived theories back to practice so as to use them as guides in such practice and also to test their truthfulness through the results of such practice, and thereby to see if they tally with the substance of objective things and the laws of development. Generally speaking, those which do tally with these things are truths, and those which do not are necessarily falsehoods. Apart from this, there is no other way. Of course, as a rule we do not deny the perceptive role played by theoretical inference and logical speculation in the process of cognition; this, after all, belongs basically to the realm of subjective detection, which cannot be mentioned in the same vein with testing through practice, and still less be taken in place of the testing role provided by objective practice.

We know that man's ability to put things into practice does not always remain at the same level but develops forward continually along with the progression of history and advancements in science and technology. This is to say that practice is related to a definite set of historical conditions and cannot transcend such definite historical conditions in verifying the truthfulness of all cases of theoretical cognition, nor can it refute the irrationality of all erroneous theories. Thus, practice as the

criterion for testing truth is historical, conditional, and relative. But the truthfulness of all theories must be tested and verified through practice without exception; a truth that cannot be verified by today's practice may be verified tomorrow. Thus it is also unconditional, absolute. Lenin pointed out long ago in his "Materialism and Empirical Criticism" that a denial of the former would stultify man's cognition and a denial of the latter would inevitably [cause man to] slip into the mud pit of idealism and agnosticism.

To sum up, we should be thorough materialists who must not only acknowledge practice as the sole criterion for testing truth but, more importantly, implement this criterion in reality to the very end, allowing no convenient admission for any theory of "exceptions" of "natural truths." This is a solemn, scientific requirements intrinsic with Marxism itself on the one hand, and a firm, thorough requirement of our revolutionary world view as proletarians on the other hand.

II. The Question Concerning the Different Roles of Practice in the Two Stages of Cognition

The unity of theory and practice is a most fundamental principle of Marxism. According to this principle, theory originates from practice and is again returned to practice and used to guide practice, and only that truth which is tested in objective practice and thereby verified as truth can be regarded finally as truth, and not otherwise. This ordinarily is common knowledge about Marxism, but it is now somehow muddled up by the theory of "natural truths" trotted out by some comrades. Thus people cannot help asking: If the theory of Marxism and the line of the party's 11th Congress have been truths ever since they were proposed, then what need is there for testing through practice at the second stage of our cognition? If they have been "scientific truths" that had already undergone testing through practice at the time they were proposed, then at what stage of our cognition are such "scientific truths" really tested and verified by practice? Can practice at the initial stage, which served as the source and basis of our cognition, test or verify the truthfulness of the theory and line that took shape afterward? Can practice realize its role of testing truth apart from, or ahead of, the process of ideological guidance? All such questions are questions of a rather fundamental nature.

On these questions Comrades Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Zedong all expounded systematically, repeatedly, and very clearly in their relevant works. In his article "Where Do People's Correct Ideas Come From?" Comrade Mao Zedong put it this way: "In their social practice, men engage in various kinds of struggle and gain rich experience, both from their successes and from their failures. Countless phenomena of the objective external world are reflected in a man's brain through his five sensory organs--the organs of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. At first, knowledge is perceptual. The leap to conceptual knowledge--i.e., to ideas--occurs when sufficient perceptual knowledge is accumulated.

This is one process of cognition. It is the first stage in the whole process of cognition, the stage leading from objective matter to subjective consciousness, from existence to ideas. Whether or not one's consciousness or ideas (including theories, policies, plans, and measures) correctly reflect the laws of the objective external world is not yet proved at this stage, in which it is not yet possible to ascertain whether they are correct or not. Then comes the second stage in the process of cognition, the stage leading from consciousness back to matter, from ideas back to existence, in which the knowledge gained in the first stage is applied in social practice to ascertain whether the theories, policies, plans, or measures meet with the anticipated success. Generally speaking, those that succeed are correct and those that fail are incorrect, and this is especially true of man's struggle with nature." From this passage of Comrade Mao Zedong's words we can see that the type of interpretation which takes a theory and a line as "scientific truth" already tested by practice once they are proposed is inconsistent with the view of Comrade Mao Zedong.

On the basis of Comrade Mao Zedong's discourse on the process of man's cognition, cited above, we can positively say that the theory of Marxism and the line of our party's 11th Congress belonged merely to the first stage of this process of cognition when they were first proposed—i.e., the stage leading from matter to consciousness, from practice to cognition. From whatever kind of practice such a theory or line may have been summed up, at their developmental stage they are still not beyond the realm of subjective consciousness and their objective truthfulness remains untested and unproven by practice. In order to solve this problem, we can only do as Comrade Mao Zedong suggested—i.e., to return the theory and the line derived from practice once more to social practice, and thereby test and examine concretely with the objective results of our practice [to determine] whether the originally formulated theory and line tally with the substantive characteristics and developmental laws of objective reality; that is to say, thereby to verify whether they are truths. If a theory and a line summed up from practice did not require practical test at a second stage, and their truthfulness could be determined when they were proposed at the very first stage, or they could even be termed "natural truths," then this would actually be denying the necessity of testing through practice with subjective supposition, and in the final analysis it would be nothing more than denying the very fundamental Marxist principle that practice is the only criterion for testing truth.

If, as some comrades choose to say, the theory and the line are already tested by practice at the first stage of cognition, it still can only be said that they are so tested by that practice which has served as their original source and basis but not yet by any other practice. But we all know that that practice which has served as their original source and basis existed before the emergence of the theory and the line but not afterward. We must therefore ask how that practice, which has served as their original source and basis, can test a theory and a line that did then not exist? Would this not be as ridiculous as a mother judging an as yet unborn child

of hers to be automatically a heroic person? From the standpoint of either logic or facts, this can only be a falsification that is totally incapable of becoming a reality.

Looking at the total process of the development of man's cognition, it cannot be a simple straight line but must of necessity come in the form of a spiral curling indefinitely upward in a series of cycles or what is described in the words of Comrade Mao Zedong, to wit: "Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol I, p 273). In this endless process of cyclic progression, practice plays a dual role. It is both the source and basis of cognition and the objective criterion for testing truth and the motive force propelling that truth to develop continuously forward. This combined cognition process is further divided into two stages of development: The first is the stage leading from practice to cognition, and the second is the stage leading from cognition back to practice. There is a practice in each of these two stages of cognition, but these two practices occupy two different positions in a given process of cognition, and they also play mutually different roles. Speaking from the standpoint of this given process of cognition, in the first stage practice plays only the role of a source and a basis but not that of a test; only in the second stage does practice play the role of testing a possibly emergent truth. These different roles played by practice in the two stages of cognition are not prescribed freely by man's will but are determined by the different places they respectively occupy in the given cognition process. Here it is very important for us to make clear the different places and different roles of these two practices; we must never confuse them with each other. We can see from the above analysis that, since practice in the first stage can only play the role of a source and a basis but not that of testing a possibly emergent truth, how then can it prove the truthfulness of a specific theory and line? This is inconceivable. It looks as though some comrades have failed to make clear the different roles played by the different practices in the two stages of the cognition process; hence, this inevitably leads to the error of substituting testing through practice in the second stage with subjective judgment in the first stage.

III. Scientific Formulation Cannot Replace Testing Through Practice

In order to vindicate their point of view, certain comrades who regard the theory of Marxism and the line of our party's 11th Congress as "natural truths" that had already been tested through practice when they were proposed have even quoted half a sentence plus an adverb from Comrade Mao Zedong's "On Practice" as the basis of their case, trying to prove that their point of view is consistent with Comrade Mao Zedong's. For the sake of comprehensively and accurately understanding the original tenor of this sentence by Comrade Mao Zedong, I feel it is necessary to have the related passages presented below.

Comrade Mao Zedong put it this way: "The problem of whether theory corresponds to objective reality is not, and cannot be, completely solved in the movement of knowledge from the perceptual to the rational, mentioned above. The only way to solve this problem completely is to redirect rational knowledge to social practice, apply theory to practice, and see whether it can achieve the objectives one has in mind. Many theories of natural science are held to be true not only because they were so considered when natural scientists formulated them, but because they have been verified in subsequent scientific practice. Similarly, Marxism-Leninism is held to be true not only because it was so considered when it was scientifically formulated by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, but because it has been verified in the subsequent practice of revolutionary class struggle and revolutionary national struggle."

On the basis of the first half of this last sentence, they thus proceed to argue righteously: According to what Comrade Mao Zedong said--"when these theories were scientifically formulated"--this was also the time when these theories originated; since those theories were truths at the very time that they were scientifically formulated, this is tantamount to saying that Marxism-Leninism was truth the moment it was formulated. But Comrade Mao Zedong told us: "The problem of whether theory corresponds to reality is not, and cannot be, completely solved in the movement of knowledge from the perceptual to the rational, mentioned above" (emphasis added by the author). In his "On Practice," Comrade Mao Zedong once again exhorted us: "The truth of any knowledge or theory is determined not by subjective feelings but by objective results in social practice. Only social practice can be the criterion of truth." The reason why Marxist-Leninist theory is called truth is because it is an objective truth which has been repeatedly tested and verified for over a hundred years by the production struggle, class struggle, and scientific experiments of people all over the world. Since Marxist-Leninist theory has already been verified as truth by social practice for a long period of time, naturally it also had been truth before it was verified. But we absolutely cannot turn this around by saying: Marxist-Leninist theory could be judged as a "natural truth" the very first time it was proposed. The reason why, when he wrote "On Practice," Comrade Mao Zedong added the adverb "scientifically" to the way Marxist-Leninist theory was formulated is not at all a mystery nor is it meant to prove Marxist-Leninist theory as a "natural truth."

Then, how should we understand the last sentence in the passage by Comrade Mao Zedong quoted above? In my own case, I have sought to understand it on the basis of the following two implications.

First, being "scientifically formulated" is a necessary premise and condition on which a theory becomes a truth; apart from this premise, no theory can become truth. The reason why Marxist-Leninist theory can be verified as truth is first of all because Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin summed up their experiences of revolutionary practice, inherited the fine legacy of their predecessors' advanced thinking under the guidance of the scientific world

view of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and formulated their theoretical system on the reliable basis of having fully studied vast amounts of historical data and realistic data.

Second, the reason why Marxist-Leninist theory is called truth is because it has since been verified repeatedly and for long periods of time by proletarians the world over through their practice in class struggle and their practice in national struggle and socialist revolution and socialist construction.

As pointed out above, although being "scientifically formulated" is a necessary premise and condition for Marxist-Leninist theory to become an objective truth, it still belonged to the stage of subjective cognition when it was first proposed; therefore this scientific manner of formulation was not itself equivalent to testing through practice, nor was it capable of taking the place of such practical testing. Practice, and practice alone, is the objective rule for testing truth. This principle is applicable not only to all other outcomes of subjective thinking (including theories, lines, policies, and measures) but also, without the slightest exception, to Marxist-Leninist theory itself. The question as to whose theory is really a scientifically formulated truth depends not on anyone's subjective emphasis but on objective testing through practice. Therefore the view that being "scientifically formulated" is tantamount to having been "already tested in practice" is actually untenable. In whatever stage these comrades' subjective thinking may have been, their view is bound to lead, in reality, to replacing objective criteria with subjective criteria and to substituting logic and reasoning for proof through practice, making it impossible, in a word, for them to carry out practice as the criterion for testing truth to the end.

IV. Uphold and Insist On Carrying Out Practice as the Criterion for Testing Truth; Promote the Realization of Socialist Modernization

Some comrades say: If we insist that all theories and lines must go through the process of being tested in practice before they can be verified as truths, then the line of the 11th Congress and the general tasks for the new era proposed by our party can certainly not be regarded as truths; if it takes another 23 years of practical testing to verify them as truths, then how can people today uphold them and struggle for their thorough realization? And some comrades even suggest that to insist that the truthfulness of all theories and lines must go through the process of being tested in practice before they can be verified is no different from doubting everything, no different from advocating that truth cannot be believed or known, and that it is nonexistent. The fact that these questions are raised at all not only demonstrates how deeply the remaining poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has penetrated, but also indicates that some comrades have themselves become doubtful and wavering with respect to the theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "According to dialectical materialism, thought must reflect objective reality and must be tested and verified in objective practice before it can be taken as truth; otherwise, it cannot." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol V, p 297)

Can it be said that theoretical principles proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong such as these are not universally applicable? And if they are applicable to all theories, lines, policies and measures, then why should anyone suggest exceptions?

Next, is it tantamount to advocating doubt toward everything, is it tantamount to advocating that truth is unknowable and unbelievable, when we suggest that we should uphold and carry out practice as the criterion for testing truth to the end? Anyone equipped with even the slightest knowledge of Marxism-Leninism should know that practice constitutes the most powerful refutation of cynicism and agnosticism. When Lenin refuted Malthusianism in his book *Materialism and Empirical Criticism*, Lenin said: "Engels repeatedly said that practice is the most powerful refutation of the agnosticism and other philosophical obscurities advocated by Kant and Hume." Some comrades exclude Marxist-Leninist theory, the line of the party's 11th Congress, etc., from the [requirement to] test through practice; this fact is in itself a concrete indication of a lack of belief in Marxist-Leninist theory and the line of the party's 11th Congress. If these comrades believe they are correct, then why should they be afraid of having the [theories] tested through practice?

Marxism has always stressed the promotive role of practice in the development of man's cognition; to incorporate practice in the theory of cognition is a revolutionary contribution of Marxism in the history of man's cognition. Yet, up to this very day there are still some comrades who regard practical tests as evidence of doubt toward Marxist-Leninist theory and the line of the party's 11th Congress, as examples of fault-finding and troublemaking and other such unbecoming behavior, and not as a great motivating force poised to enrich and develop our capability to understand the objective world and the laws of social development. Such a view is utterly erroneous and hardly in accord with the Marxist point of view, and if it is allowed to spread, its influence is bound to be extremely harmful. According to the Marxist theory of cognition, practice is the material activity by which man seeks purposely to transform his objective environment; theories, lines, and others emerge and develop only on the basis of man's practical activity and in response to the needs felt during the process of such practice. Practice is the sole objective criterion by which man differentiates truth from falsehood; it affirms the cognition of truthfulness of certain things (including the truthfulness of theories, lines, policies, and measures) it bolsters man's confidence in transforming the objective world, and it simultaneously enriches and replenishes man's experience through struggle by means of a more refreshing and vigorous understanding on the one hand, and, on the other hand it ruthlessly exposes man's erroneous cognition and erroneous activity, and requires man to correct his errors, rectify

his orientation, and raise his cognition to a new level. Naturally, the elevation of the level of man's cognition in turn serves to guide man's practice even more fittingly and more effectively, and at the same time further develops man's ability to carry out practice. This is precisely what Comrade Mao Zedong designated as the path of "discovering truth through practice, and also verifying truth and developing truth through practice."

We all know that the line of the 11th Congress and the general tasks for the new era proposed by our party were formulated under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and on the basis of a summing up of both positive and negative aspects of our rich practical experience in socialist revolution and socialist construction, acquired over long periods of time. But these after all are the results of our subjective cognition, which cannot be taken as a substitute for objective proof through practice. We are of the opinion that only through practical testing can correct theories and lines truly and concretely demonstrate the brilliance of their truthfulness and let the broad masses of the people witness their "reality and strength" with their own eyes and through their own experience. Facts have proved that this is precisely the case. The "communique" of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee convened in December last year [1978] and Premier Hua Guofeng's "Report on the Work of the Government" at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress convened in June this year eloquently illustrated that after 2 years of practical testing, the correctness of the line of the party's 11th Congress and the general tasks for the new era have indeed become increasingly clearer on the one hand, and, on the other hand, those 2 years of practical tests have also raised not a few problems for us, such as the serious dislocation in the expected proportionate development of the national economy, the overextension of the capital construction front, which has not properly adapted to the requirements of the Four Modernizations, etc. The principal causes for the rise of these problems had to do with the interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," of course, but some of them also had to do with out lack of sufficient understanding as well as defects and mistakes in our work, such as an overestimation of beneficial conditions, an underestimation of difficult conditions, an overaccelerated pace, insufficient attention to the making of arrangements according to overall planning and to the development of a comprehensive balance, etc.

The aforesaid situation tells us that, after 2 years of practical tests, it has been verified first of all that the line of the party's 11th Congress and the general tasks for the new era are correct, as they have won great victories on the nation's various fronts, including the military and diplomatic fronts. It was precisely under such a fine situation that the Party Central Committee declared at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress the shift of the focus in the work of the whole party and the whole country to socialist modernization. The new situations and

new problems raised during those practical tests served both to enrich the experience of struggle on the part of the party and the people of the whole country and to enable the party to rectify certain defects and mistakes in our work; thus the party was also able to proffer the eight-point policy of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating, and improving [the national economy]" in the next 3 years in response to such new situations and problems.

Facts are more eloquent than arguments. The practical tests during the past 2 years have, after all, not caused the broad masses of the people to doubt or to waver. On the contrary, the result has been a further affirmation of the guiding ideals and developmental orientation of our country's socialist modernization and a further stimulation of the determination and revolutionary ardor of the masses of the people in their struggle for the realization of the Four Modernizations. Of course, 2 years of practical testing have offered only tests of a preliminary nature; their truthfulness as a whole must still meet the continued practical testing over a fairly long period.

According to the principle of dialectic-materialistic cognition, the process of thoroughly carrying out the party's policy line is at the same time also the process through which the party's policy line meets the practical test by hundreds of thousands of the masses of the people. These two processes are the two inseparable parts of the unified cognition process that interact with, promote, and develop each other on the basis of practice. Insisting on materialism, insisting on carrying out practice as the criterion for testing truth to the end, is nothing more than insisting on having all subjective things (including theories, lines, policies, and measures, etc) undergo practical tests in order to verify their truthfulness, and opposing the "theory of exceptions" in any form. This is a basic principle of Marxism that can never be subject to any wavering or doubt, as to its universality. Otherwise, there would be danger of leading people to the mud pit of believing for belief's sake and idealism.

Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought constitute the guiding ideology for the realization of our socialist modernization. As long as we hold high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, we shall be triumphant wherever we go on the road of this New Long March of ours!

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'BA YI RADIO' CRITICIZES POOR WORK STYLE OF 'JIEFANGJUN BAO'

OW241006 Ba Yi Radio [Clandestine] in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 22 Dec 79
OW

[Text] Although certain improvements have been made by JIEFANGJUN BAO over the past year and more, the paper still lags far behind the requirements of being the official organ of the Chinese Liberation Army, and it still cannot reflect the feelings and demands of the broad masses of commanders and fighters, as well as provide the cadres and fighters with up-to-date reports on current events about which they are deeply concerned.

For instance, the 1 million commanders and fighters of the PLA units stationed in the areas bordering the Soviet Union, Mongolia and Vietnam are very eager to know the progress of China's negotiations with the Soviet Union and Vietnam. But JIEFANGJUN BAO has contrarily imposed a news blockade on all reports in this connection upon the masses of commanders and fighters. Even though some important news was already reported by foreign news agencies and revealed summarily by RENMIN RIBAO, this army paper was still afraid to mention even a single word of such news. What is most ridiculous is the fact that the paper is even afraid to expeditiously report on meetings of Deng Xiaoping, Hua Guofeng, Li Xiannian and other leading comrades with foreign guests and foreign reporters. The paper usually would wait for a certain period of time and then publish such news reports by copying them from foreign wire services or newspapers.

It is only logical for a newspaper to look for news and provide its readers with domestic and foreign news without any delay. As some comrades of the PLA general political department pointed out, JIEFANGJUN BAO is the slowest newspaper on earth. The tight control and inflexible screening procedures at various levels have resulted in very low efficiency for this paper. Actually, many important news items should be published immediately. However, because some leading personnel of the central authorities have constantly issued orders to the paper and demanded that the guidelines of their latest speeches be published, the personnel in charge of JIEFANGJUN BAO have no choice but to carefully submit all manuscripts to the higher level for examination and approval. Some of the manuscripts cannot be printed unless they are read and endorsed by Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping. During Vice

Premier Deng's visit to the United States, many manuscripts were put aside by the JIEFANGJUN BAO to await his endorsement.

Some people may say that there is nothing wrong with being cautious and establishing screening procedures, for this will prevent mistakes. On the contrary, so-called caution has absolutely nothing to do with the accuracy and timely sending of manuscripts to the press. In going over a manuscript, the personnel in charge of this PLA paper usually spend half their time on trying to figure out the psychological reaction the leading personnel of the central authorities may have when they read the paper. As a result, a great deal of time has been used to practice fraud. For instance, after it was declared by the leading personnel of the central authorities that Lin Biao and the gang of four are responsible for all the cases of past injustice, the JIEFANGJUN BAO office had no choice but to adopt all possible means to prove that Lin Biao and the gang of four are indeed the chief culprits for bringing calamity to the country and the people in the past several decades. Moreover, when Vice Premier Deng visited the United States and Chairman Hua went to Western Europe, the paper immediately described the United States and Western Europe as paradises on earth and adopted all possible means to (?praise) some leading personnel's policy of forming alliance with the West in an attempt to make the commanders and fighters of our army believe that the leading personnel's close relations with the capitalists serve the interests of our army, our country and our people.

All this shows that this official organ of our army has become a mouthpiece controlled by several individuals. If we allow this practice to continue, then JIEFANGJUN BAO will not only fail to play its own role, but it will also create a very serious ideological confusion among the broad masses of commanders and fighters of our army.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

AIR DEFENSE PROJECTS BENEFIT CIVILIAN MASSES

OW221110 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 21 Dec 79 OW

[Report: "What One Has Seen and Heard in the Cities"]

[Text] Dear listeners, underground people's air defense projects have been built in many of our country's cities. Can these underground projects play a certain role in relation to our production and livelihood?

Shanghai and Wuhan municipalities have made tremendous accomplishments in fully using underground facilities to serve the needs of production and people's livelihood. Shanghai City has utilized nearly 100,000 square meters of people's air defense projects to serve the needs of production and people's livelihood by building underground reception centers, restaurants, warehouses, workshops and 170 photo studios. Some 20 underground reception centers have a supply of more than 2,000 beds, thus playing an effective role in solving the shortage of hotels in Shanghai City. The Shanghai municipal office in charge of people's air defense recently called a meeting to exchange experiences on people's air defense in both peacetime and wartime. Some 13 units reported their experiences at the meeting.

Different kinds of facilities for production and people's livelihood have emerged in Wuhan Municipality's underground air defense projects. These facilities include food and cold drink establishments and display and retail stores, which are very popular with the people, frequently visited youth centers and ice-making workshops and cold storages.

Many units in Wuhan have also fully used the various facilities in air defense projects to serve production and people's livelihood. For example, during the summer the air conditioners in air defense projects become a major source of cool air for many auditoriums, movie theaters and restaurants. Taking advantage of the air defense tunnels, where the humidity is high and there is little change in temperature, the vegetable research group under the horticulture department of the Central China Agriculture Institute has built 72 square meters of experimental farmland to grow mushrooms. The underground service department of the railway station's comprehensive retail store has built ice-making workshops and cold storages that were put into operation this July. The ice cubes are not only sold to passengers but also delivered to some nearby units.

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'JIEFANG RIBAO' ON SHANGHAI'S UNDERGROUND AIR-RAID FACILITIES

HK030855 Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Dec 79 p 1 HK

[Report: "Underground Air-Raid Facilities Used in Production"]

[Text] Yesterday the reporter learned the following at a Shanghai municipal meeting to exchange experiences on using people's air-raid defense facilities both in peacetime and wartime; at the moment, more than 300,000 square meters in floorspace of the people's air-raid defense facilities in Shanghai have been utilized to serve production and the people's daily lives. And this 100,000 square meters are better equipped, better managed and better utilized than the rest. In Hongkou and Jingan districts and in the handicraft bureau and No 2 commercial bureau the area of air-raid defense facilities so utilized have already reached 40 to 50 percent of the total utilizable area. These figures are respectively near and equal to the nationwide target of 50 percent utilization within a year that was put forward in the beginning of this year.

Practice has proven that there are many advantages to extensively turning people's air-raid defense facilities into production sites, workshops, warehouses, restaurants, hostels and other places for activities in accordance with the principle of combining facilities for use in peacetime and wartime.

First, it alleviates the contradiction between urban development and inadequate production areas. The Yingbin confectionery in Zhabei District is a small-sized factory affiliated with the district. It officially went into operation this June. Originally it occupied a small area of less than 100 square meters, but it was unable to meet the needs of production development. After it began using these underground facilities by dividing a 200-square meters air-raid shelter into eight small rooms for expanding production, its monthly output went up to 56,000 jin as compared to the original 30,000 jin.

Second, it is advantageous in providing jobs for educated youth. According to statistics in the Hongkou District, by using underground facilities in peacetime, about 1,200 people are provided jobs as staffs and workers.

The number of educated youth amounts to 634 or 51 percent of the total number of staff and workers.

Third, it helps in accumulating capital for the country. According to estimates by the collective enterprise management bureau in Hongkou District, more than 1,200 people are engaged in production within the scope of defense works, annually creating almost a million yuan of profit. With an investment of 39,000 yuan, the West Lake Hotel turned almost 200 square meters of basement into a restaurant. Eight months after opening in April 1975, it recouped its capital outlay. It has already prepared 12,000 feast tables and turned more than 219,000 yuan of profit over to the higher authorities.

Fourth, it is advantageous to solving the "accommodation problem" for visitors to Shanghai. The Gonghe New Road hostel in Zhabei District has received a total number of about 11,200 visitors from other localities since it opened for business on 1 September this year until the end of November. A preliminary study shows that currently more than 20 hostels in the whole municipality have been opened by the people's air-raid defense organizations, with a total of more than 2,000 beds.

Finally, it helps to strengthen the defense and maintenance of defense works. Because of frequent use, the people's air-raid defense facilities will be under constant repairs even in peacetime. Meanwhile, we can accumulate experiences for wartime personnel who work underground. These defense facilities are all soundly prepared against war.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HEBEI PAPER AIRS PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC ORDER

HK310405 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0430 GMT
17 Dec 79 HK

[Hebei Radio editorial: "Uphold Law and Order in Society and Hit At Criminal Activities"--date not given]

[Excerpts] Social order in the towns remains unstable. In particular, criminal activities have recently been frenzied in some municipalities. There have been many cases of murder, robbery, rape and so on. Some people band into gangs, go around with weapons, hold up passers-by, commit robbery, and collect crowds for fights. Some criminals publicly beat up public security cadres and policemen on duty and security activists. Although there are very few of these criminal elements, their influence is very bad, and they seriously disrupt order in society, production, work, education and scientific research, and daily life. The masses are strongly demanding that the public security, procuratorate and court organs strengthen the socialist legal system, uphold social order, deal resolute, prompt and effective blows at the sabotage activities of criminals and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The fundamental reason why public order in towns is bad is that the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the gang of four has not yet been completely eliminated. At present some bad people are still indulging in the stuff of Lin Biao and the gang of four. They go around stirring up trouble and deliberately cause confusion. Some youths and juveniles who have been rather seriously poisoned in ideology by Lin Biao and the gang of four are instigated and used by bad people into following them to commit crimes. The erroneous trends of thought of anarchism, extreme individualism, and pursuit of bourgeois liberalization which have appeared during this period have seriously corrupted some people, causing them to embark on the road of breaking the law. Certain criminal activities have also seized the chance to carry out sabotage activities.

So long as the whole party and people take action and every department closely cooperates, we can certainly straighten out social order and create a new situation of still greater stability and unity for the four modernizations.

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HANGZHOU PEOPLE'S COURTS SENTENCE MURDERERS, ROBBERS, RAPISTS

OW261430 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT
24 Dec 79 OW

[Excerpts] A public sentencing rally, during which a number of murderers, robbers, rapists, swindlers and thieves were sentenced, was held in Hangzhou on the afternoon of 24 December. Several thousand people attended and, cheering and applauding, they unanimously supported the stern decisions handed down by the people's courts.

At the public sentencing rally, which was held at the provincial stadium, the Hangzhou intermediate people's court and the (Shangchen), (Xiacheng) and Zihu district people's courts sentenced criminals involved in nine major criminal cases, including (Wang Liangfen) and others. Criminal (Wang Liangfen) was a worker at the heat treatment workshop of the Hangzhou brakes plant. To achieve his goal of marrying his mistress, criminal (Wang) brutally mistreated his wife, (Fang Xiang). When (Fang Xiang) went from Xianju to Hangzhou to ask (Wang) for money this past June, criminal (Wang), taking advantage of his day off, lured his wife to the workshop where he beat her unconscious and then pushed her into the electric furnace to dispose of her body. He was sentenced to death to be executed immediately.

Criminal (Li Yongping) was a carpenter at the water sanitation center of the Shanghai security department. He had been having an intimate relationship with a young woman worker named (Chen Meiyang) of the same unit since 1977. When he learned in July that (Chen Meiyang) was pregnant for the second time, he lured her to Linyin near Hangzhou on 18 July and stabbed her to death. He was sentenced to death according to the law to be executed immediately.

Criminal (Xu Jianhua) was originally sentenced in 1975 to undergo education through forced labor for theft and gang fighting. He was released from forced labor in March 1979. Since then he had run amuck and engaged in such criminal activities as assault and robbery. On the afternoon of 30 May criminal (Xu) and his accomplice (Yang Jianming) broke into a house on (Shaofeng) Road to commit a robbery. When the young woman of the house

returned home, criminal (Yang) fled, but criminal (Xu) tied her up in a room and stabbed her. He fled the scene after robbing her of a wrist watch, money and other articles. Meanwhile, criminal (Xu's) father, (Xu Qingchuan), and mother (Qian Shaolu), who knew about their son's crimes planned with (Xu) and (Yang) on a number of occasions to destroy the criminal evidence and conceal the loot. For his serious crime of assaulting the young woman and undermining social order, (Xu Jianhua) was sentenced to death according to the law to be executed immediately; his accomplice (Yang Jianming) was sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment; (Xu Qingchuan) was given a sentence of 4 years imprisonment; and (Qian Shaolu) was put on probation for 3 years.

Criminals (Ju Gang), (Fu Haiming) and (Xu Weimin) were employees of the repair team of the Shanghai harbor bureau and a vegetable market. They committed robberies in Shanghai between June and August this year. This September they arrived in Hangzhou with daggers and rope planning to commit more crimes. On the afternoon of 9 September they robbed (Li Kexiang) and (Wei Fengqing) on a road between Linyin and Beigaofeng and inflicted serious injuries on (Li) and robbed him of a wrist watch. For their serious crime of committing robbery and crippling the victim, criminal (Ju Gang) was sentenced to death according to the law to be executed immediately; (Fu Haiming) was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment; and (Xu Weiming) was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment.

Criminal (Wang Shimiao) was a worker at the Hangzhou oxygen machinery plant who began his criminal ways as a petty thief when he was still in middle school. On the night of 13 February he robbed a woman worker and hit her with an iron bar. Although the victim lived, she was crippled. For his heinous crime, criminal (Wang) was given a life sentence and deprived of his political rights for life.

Criminal (Chen Min) had been committing robberies since 1975. He later changed his name to (Wang Shukiang) and, posing as a son of an overseas Chinese, robbed overseas Chinese compatriots and foreign friends in Guangxi, Zhejiang, Jiangsu and Shandong. He netted more than 10,000 yuan in six criminal cases. He was sentenced for life according to the law.

Criminal (Li Guopan) teamed up with criminals (Li Guoliang), (Chen Xunchang) and (Xu Zhongjie) and gang-raped a young girl in the (Beiyangshan) area and robbed her of a wrist watch. (Li Guoliang) was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment according to the law.

At the public sentencing rally, (Chen Xia), secretary of the Hangzhou municipal CCP Committee and vice chairman of the Hangzhou municipal revolutionary committee, called on the people of the whole municipality to earnestly implement the guidelines of the national and provincial public security conference and to work with concerted efforts and adopt decisive, effective measures aimed at consolidating social order and striking at criminals relentlessly to insure the smooth progress of the four modernizations.

[Editor's note: Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin at 0400 GMT on 24 December also carried a station announcement that said the Zhejiang TV station would carry the public sentencing rally at 0500 GMT on 24 December.]

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ZHEJIANG MILITARY DISTRICT TO SHARE LOCAL SECURITY WORK

OW280625 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 25 Dec 79 OW

[Text] The Zhejiang provincial military district held a meeting from 22 to 24 December to earnestly discuss the guidelines laid down by the national conference on urban security and urged all affiliated military and militia units to carry forward the glorious tradition and assist localities to strengthen public security and maintain normal social order.

Those in attendance earnestly studied Comrade Peng Zhen's speech at the national conference on urban security and other relevant directives from higher authorities, and discussed and analyzed the current status of urban security. They pointed out that the situation in Zhejiang has been excellent this year and the general situation of public security has been good, and that the various military and militia units under the provincial military district have been acclaimed by the people for playing a positive role in coordinating with public security organizations in maintaining public order and intensifying the struggle against criminals engaged in disturbing public security.

They pointed out, however, that there is still an extremely small number of counterrevolutionaries and criminals engaged in troublemaking and sabotage activities, seriously affecting public security and the four modernizations. Armymen and militiamen are dutybound to actively support and coordinate with the localities to improve public security, and we must reinstate and carry forward this glorious tradition and shoulder responsibility for this task so as to insure smooth progress of the four modernizations.

The meeting also worked out a specific plan for further coordinating with the localities in improving public security.

Guan Junting, commander, and Mao Hanqing, political commissar of the provincial military district, attended and addressed the meeting. Other leading comrades of military units and people's armed force departments of the major cities and townships under the provincial military district also attended.

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HAINAN CCP COMMITTEE HOLDS MEETING ON IMPROVING PUBLIC ORDER

HK270502 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 24 Dec 79 HK

[Text] The Hainan regional CCP Committee held a work conference from 19 to 22 December on public order in the Han area of Hainan. It demanded that all areas use the weapon of law and fully launch the masses to seriously strike those illegal and criminal activities that sabotage law and order and jeopardize public order, consolidate and develop the political situation of stability and unity and safeguard the smooth progress of the four modernizations.

Regional CCP Committee Deputy Secretary Liang Cheng presided at the meeting and made a report on rectification of law and order in the society and on the consolidation of the five orders. (Cheng Kegong), a member of the Standing Committee of the regional CCP Committee, was present at the meeting and made a speech. All comrades present at the meeting seriously studied the spirit of the national and provincial conferences on urban order in connection with reality; they analyzed the current situation of law and order in the region's cities and rural areas.

They all held: The analysis, principles and policies made by the central authorities and provincial CCP Committee on the current law and order situation are entirely suited to our region's actual situation. The conference held: Since this year, the region's law and order situation on the whole has been good. The situation is better in the rural areas than in the cities and towns. However, there are still many problems. Especially now, criminal offences have been comparatively rampant. This has seriously disturbed order in society, production, work, teaching and scientific research, and daily life. It has also directly jeopardized the progress of the four modernizations and the security of the lives and property of the masses.

The masses strongly demand that the CCP and the government take effective measures to strengthen the socialist legal system, seriously strike at various criminal activities, maintain normal law and order in society and safeguard the smooth progress of the four modernizations.

The conference decided: To do well in rectifying public order in the region, it is necessary to carry out several linked rounds of action. The key points for rectification are Haikou City and all county towns. With regard to rural areas, the main thing is to widely launch education in the legal system, and resolutely eliminate sinister trends of theft, gambling, feudal superstition and the disorderly feeling of trees. In rectification work, it is necessary to concentrate all forces to strike all robbers, murderers, rapists, heads of illegal emigrant gangs and other criminals who seriously sabotage public order. Those who deserve arrest should be arrested and those who deserve sentences should be sentenced. We can never be soft-handed. With regard to people who commit ordinary crimes, especially youths and juveniles, it is necessary to stress education and salvation. It is necessary to commend and protect those cadres and masses who enthusiastically struggle against sabotage of order in society, and commend and award those who have gained remarkable results. The conference demanded that all areas continue to widely and deeply launch education in the legal system, publicize public order regulations and explain the principles for waging struggle against criminal activities. This will enable everyone to really understand what it is to be law-abiding and what it is to be against the law, and what punishment one will get when one commits a crime. Thus, it will enable the masses to spontaneously make use of the weapon of law to struggle against criminals. On the basis of extensive propaganda and mobilization, all areas must strike concentrated blows at a number of criminals and hold public trials to create great impetus in hitting at criminals and encouraging the morale of the masses.

The conference pointed out: The problem of public order is a social problem. To promote law and order in society, it is necessary for the entire party to mobilize and all the people to take action. The problem must be handled in a comprehensive way. The propaganda departments, education departments, mass organizations such as trade unions, CYL and women's federations, and the residents' committees all should center on the principle of comprehensive handling to promote propaganda and education work. It is now necessary to strengthen education for youths and juveniles and to promote ideological work for unemployed youths and educated youths who flock back to the cities to prevent bad people from taking advantage of their weak points.

The conference stressed: CCP Committees at all levels must treat and grasp the rectification work of public order as an important political task. First secretaries must grasp this personally, with deputy secretaries providing specific leadership. All responsible comrades of party organizations of organs, factories, mines and enterprises, schools, shops and neighborhoods must grasp this personally. In connection with their own district and unit, they should work out specific plans and implement them. Under the unified leadership of the CCP Committees, every department must make use of the weapon of law to strike at criminals, educate the masses and do well in rectifying public and social order in the region as quickly as possible.

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ZHEJIANG'S ARMED FORCES COMMISSION HOLDS MEETING ON MILITIA

OW311038 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Dec 79
OW

[Text] The Zhejiang provincial CCP Committee's people's armed forces commission held its first session on 25 December. The session studied questions in regard to strengthening militia building next year by centering on the four modernizations. It called on the masses of militiamen to play their important role in improving the security of society and defending the four modernizations.

Li Fengping, governor of Zhejiang Province and chairman of the people's armed forces commission, presided over and addressed the session. Also attending the session were Guan Junting, commander of the Zhejiang military district and deputy chairman of the commission; Wang Fang, deputy secretary of the provincial CCP Committee, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress's standing committee and vice chairman of the commission; and other members of the commission. Sun Chaoxu, deputy political commissar of the provincial military district, gave a report to the session on this year's militia work, conscription, the recruitment of pilots and the selection of gliders.

The session held that, under the guidance of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and under the leadership of the party committee of the PLA Nanjing units and the provincial party committee, Jiangsu has scored great achievements in militia building this year and that the glorious tradition of the party controlling the armed forces has been restored and further carried forward. Party committees at all levels have paid great attention to organizing and mobilizing the militia to contribute to the four modernizations and have persisted in linking militia work with production work. The militia has scored marked achievements in military training and in taking good care of weapons and equipment and has contributed to protecting factories, warehouses, bridges and railways and in assisting security departments in safeguarding the security of society and in dealing with criminal activities.

The session held that in the new year it is necessary to continue to implement the guidelines of the party's third and fourth plenary sessions and

the second session of the fifth NPC; to further study Comrade Ye Jianying's national day speech; to center militia work on the central task of the four modernizations and regard it as having strategic importance; to concentrate on building basic units of the militia in accordance with the principle formulated by the CCP Central Committee's military commission and the instructions of the provincial CCP Committee; to do a good job in the militia's military training by upholding the principle of integrating productive labor with military training; to strengthen control of the militia's weapons and equipment; to continually sum up experiences in carrying out militia work well in the new situation and to carry out militia work well organizationally, politically and militarily.

The session held that in the new year it is necessary to further strengthen the ranks of full-time militia cadres. It pointed out that attention should be paid to not allowing full-time militia cadres to hold too many concurrent positions. Militia cadres should be made to devote their time to militia work. Party committees should maintain relative stability in the number of full-time militia cadres; show concern for their study, work and livelihood; conscientiously do political work in the militia well under the new situation; revise the content, forms and methods of political education for the militia; and also pay particular attention to education on policies, the legal system and discipline.

The session held that under the present circumstances particular attention should be given to allowing the militia to play its key role in safeguarding the security of society and defending the four modernizations. Under the unified leadership of party committees, the militia of all units must, in accordance with needs and possibilities, set up a duty system and organize patrols on a shift basis. Particular vigilance should be strengthened in areas where criminal activities run rampant. Whenever and wherever criminal activities are discovered, militiamen must be ready to take up the cudgels for a just cause, arrest the criminals and escort them to public security organs so as to safeguard the stability of social order.

At the session, leading comrades of the armed forces commission divided work duties, discussed the readjustment of the namelist of the members of the commission, studied the adding of new members to the commission and decided to establish an office for the armed forces commission. (Zhang Feng), deputy chief of staff of the provincial military district, will head the office and be responsible for the day-to-day work of the commission.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

STATE BUREAU OF AQUATIC PRODUCTS PRAISES PLA NAVAL UNITS

OW030932 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0332 GMT 1 Jan 80 OW

[Text] Beijing, 1 Jan--On New Year's Eve the State Bureau of Aquatic Products sent a letter to the leading organ of the PLA Navy praising its naval units for their tremendous assistance in protecting fishing fleets and saving fishing boats from danger. The bureau pledged in the letter that the broad masses of fishermen and all the staff and workers on the aquatic production front will forever unite and fight together with the people's navy and strive for the acceleration of the four modernizations of the motherland.

XINHUA reporters learned from the State Bureau of Aquatic Products and the leading organ of the navy that during last year naval ships took a total of 2,100 trips and naval planes flew 366 sorties to protect fishing operations. Besides, the naval units also repaired a large number of fishing boats for fishery communes and brigades and rescued many endangered fishermen.

The State Bureau of Aquatic Products praised the PLA Navy for regarding its duty to support fishery production as unshirkable, saying that, by doing this the navy has won the love and esteem of fishermen and further cemented the fish-and-water ties between the navy and the people.

Last May, as shoals of fish appeared at the fishing grounds east of Fujian, large numbers of fishing boats working at sea for long hours were in urgent need of refueling. Whereupon, a certain naval garrison unit immediately dispatched its cadres and fighters to deliver oil to every fishing port and fishing boat. A certain naval sentry post on the East China Sea has made it a year round practice to warmly receive the fishermen and provide them with fresh water and repair their boats. During typhoon season, this sentry post also provides shelter for fishing boats and has gained the name of "the home of fishermen at sea."

On 16 June last year, Yang Jiankui, a fisherman from Tanggu District, Tianjin Municipality, accidentally injured his head while operating off-shore Rock Island east of Shandong peninsula. Leading cadres at the patrol

unit stationed on the island personally arranged his transportation and, after an entire day's journey, brought this injured fisherman to Tianjin in time for emergency treatment.

Another afternoon, while a trawler of Rongcheng County, Shandong, was being tested on the Rock Island port, it suddenly caught fire due to a cracked oil line. The commanders and fighters of No. 2325 patrol boat under this patrol unit immediately rushed to the scene. Disregarding his own safety, Ma Yanjun, the after gun captain of the patrol boat, braved the fire and grabbed a fire extinguisher in the engine room to put out the fire. Owing to their heroic fight, this fishing boat was finally saved.

CS0: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SICHUAN PUBLIC SECURITY ORGANS INVESTIGATE, CRACK CASES

HK010240 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 28 Dec 79
HK

[Excerpts from poor reception] Since the beginning of July this year, public security organs throughout Sichuan have organized superior forces, fully mobilized and relied on the masses, adopted all effective measures and vigorously carried out work to investigate and crack cases. They have scored outstanding achievements.

According to statistics from the beginning of last July to the end of last November, the rate of criminal cases cracked in Sichuan was 74 percent, up 8.9 percent compared with the first 6 months of this year. The rate of important cases cracked was 91 percent. At the same time, the province had also successfully cracked 65 important long pending cases. The smooth implementation of the work to investigate and crack cases has dealt effective blows at counterrevolutionary elements and criminals and has also played a significant role in upholding and developing the excellent situation of stability and unity in Sichuan, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and defending the four modernizations.

Last July, Sichuan organized some 5,300 public security cadres and policemen to generally check up on important pending cases and arrange them in order of priority. They studied them one by one, drew up plans, assigned special people to take care of them and implemented measures.

While vigorously carrying out work to investigate and crack cases, the public security departments have also firmly grasped preventive measures. They have closely integrated straightening out public order with the work to crack cases and educate the masses in guarding against four things. They have organized the masses to control places where the situation is complicated and develop public order joint defense to capture more current violent criminals. The internal organs of factories, mines, enterprises, government offices and schools have persistently implemented the systems of rules and regulations regarding security and other preventive measures. Departments which are responsible for money, grain and materials have also strengthened their systems of personal responsibility.

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

SHANGHAI PUBLIC SECURITY ACTIVITIES--On 18 December, the political department of the Shanghai municipal public security bureau sponsored a meeting for the leaders and political work cadres of the public security organizations throughout Shanghai to study the Ministry of Public Security's circular on launching the "cherish-the-people-month" activities during the new year and spring festival of 1980. The meeting urged all public security organizations to earnestly implement the requirements stipulated in the circular while strengthening the socialist legal system, consolidating public security of society, maintaining stability and unity and safeguarding the four modernizations. The "cherish-the-people-month" activities will be from mid-January to mid-February of 1980. Activities of the month will be carried out in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, stressing practical effects and eliminating formalism. [Text] [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 22 Dec 79 OW]

CHANGSHA PUBLIC ORDER IMPROVEMENT--Changsha municipal delegates attending the second session of the fifth Hunan provincial people's congress have unanimously praised in their discussions the provincial government work report's call for strengthening socialist democracy and the legal system. They have demanded that the departments concerned take effective measures to further tidy up social order and insure the smooth progress of the four modernizations. The delegates have put forward very many good opinions on how to tidy up social order. They said: The Changsha municipal revolutionary committee must currently strengthen leadership and concentrate forces to hit at all kinds of illegal and criminal activities. In particular, they must punish according to law people who commit murder, robbery, rape and arson along with other criminals who seriously sabotage social order. Many delegates pointed out: At present some people are completely ignoring law and discipline under the pretext of bringing democracy into play, pursuing anarchism and even publicly distributing illegal publications. We hope the government will take effective measures to deal with these organizations and their publications and big-character street posters in accordance with the relevant laws and decrees. [Excerpts] [HK250219 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 23 Dec 79 HK]

HAINAN IMPROVES PUBLIC ORDER--In accordance with the practical situation in the locale where it is stationed, a certain PLA unit of the Hainan military

district has sent teams to assist the local authorities in doing a good job in promoting public order. This has been greatly welcomed by the local people. The PLA unit has troops stationed in several counties and townships on the coast and border defense line. It covers a vast area and the front is long. There are all kinds of people coming and going and the situation is relatively complicated. In a previous period, because of the influence of the ultraleftist ideological trend, criminals ran rampant and public order was in a state of confusion. Guarded by the spirit of the national conference on urban public order, the PLA unit dispatched teams to counties, townships and important lines of communications. The teams have seriously corrected the appearance and deportment of soldiers out of the barracks and strengthened army discipline and also improved urban public order. Since the beginning of December, the PLA unit has sent teams consisting of its fighters and they have assisted the local authorities in publicizing the PRC criminal law and law of criminal procedures, strengthening the socialist legal system and dealing blows at criminal activities. They have punished a number of criminals and insured the smooth implementation of the four modernizations in these urban areas. [Text] [HK010431 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 29 Dec 79 HK]

GUANGZHOU LAW, ORDER--The public security organs in Guangzhou Municipality have seriously rectified law and order in the municipality. In the past few days, these public security organs have resolutely stopped the illegal activities of fraudulently exchanging foreign currencies, engaging in transactions with food coupons and purchasing and selling of tape recorders, computers and television sets. Recently, 43 criminals were detained while 12 are being investigated. A certain amount of foreign currencies and a number of food coupons, tape recorders and computers have been confiscated. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 7 Dec 79 HK]

WUHAN EMBEZZLEMENT CASE--According to CHANGJIANG RIBAO, the air force military court under the Wuhan PLA units recently sentenced embezzler (Xu Xiufeng) to 3 years' imprisonment. (Xu Xiufeng) was formerly a fighter of an air force warehouse under the Wuhan PLA units. When he was an acting cashier in 1976, he embezzled over 2,300 yuan from public funds. When he handed over the accounts before going back to civilian life in March this year, he fraudulently drew 4,100 yuan from a bank. With the help of local public security organs, the public security bodies of the army units quickly cracked this embezzlement case and arrested (Xu Xiufeng). [HK011410 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Dec 79 HK]

SICHUAN PLA MILITIA CONFERENCE--The party committee of the Sichuan military district recently held a conference on political work for the militia to sum up and exchange the experiences of the militia in political work. The conference also analyzed and studied the new situation and new issues on political work in the militia and emphatically discussed the issues of how to do a good job of political work in the militia in the future. This is the first conference on political work for the militia of the Sichuan military district since the smashing of the gang of four. The participants

pointed out that it is necessary to organize the militia to repeatedly study NPC Chairman Ye Jianying's national day speech and the issue of the criterion of truth and educate the militia on the current policies and legal system. The people's armed forces departments at all levels must further obey the leadership of the local party committees and be their good staff officers. The leading cadres at all levels must correct the party's work style; they pointed out that economic work is the politics that lead everything. Therefore, militia work must obey this politics. [Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 10 Dec 79 HK]

LANZHOU PLA DRAMA--Beijing, 17 Dec--Zhandou singing and dancing ensemble of the Lanzhou PLA units will perform a seven-scene musical play, "Bloodstained Necklace," in Beijing beginning 17 December. The play, which depicts the moving and tragic story of a newlywed Kazak couple, reflects the heroic struggle by the people of all nationalities in Xinjiang against foreign expansionists in the early 1960's and praises the Kazak people's patriotism. [OW231915 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0150 GMT 17 Dec 79 OW]

GUANGZHOU JUDICIAL ORGANS--Guangzhou recently decided to transfer 1,800 cadres to work in public security bureaus, procuratorial organs and people's courts in the municipalities, districts and counties. Guangzhou also decided to augment and strengthen the ranks of the public security, and procuratorial organs and people's courts to insure the smooth progress of the four modernizations. The age of these newly-transferred cadres range from 20 to 30 with senior middle school cultural level. Most of them are Communist Party members or CYL members, while others are advanced workers and activists. [HK150647 Guangzhou City Service in Cantonese 0430 GMT 2 Dec 79 HK]

HENAN PLA AGRICULTURAL CIRCULAR--On 8 December, the political department of the Henan military district issued a circular which called on the PLA units under its direct authority to support the localities to resist drought and irrigate wheat. The circular pointed out that when conditions permit, it is necessary to send out repair teams to the countryside to help the communes and brigades repair the machines for resisting drought, organize the militia to plunge into the struggle to resist drought and irrigate wheat fields so as to give full play to the shock role of the militia as the backbone. [Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Dec 79 HK]

PLA ASSISTANCE COMMENDED--Beijing, December 29 (XINHUA)--Commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in relief operations in afflicted areas provided 3,200,000 items, including clothes, quilts, and medicine other consumer goods last winter and this year. The Ministry of Civil Affairs recently issued a message to army men taking part in such work, praising them for their fine work. Some areas of China, were hit by serious natural calamities in the past two years. P.L.A. units dispatched helicopters and ships to bring relief to the people in the stricken areas. P.L.A. men helped the people rebuild their villages and towns. In the message, the ministry conveyed appreciation and extended New Year greetings to the P.L.A. men taking part in the relief work. [Text] [OW291012 Beijing XINHUA in English 0735 GMT 29 Dec 79 OW]

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PARTY GUIDANCE STIMULATES WORKERS IN RURAL AREAS

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 6 Oct 79 p 1

[Newsletter by Zhang Biao [1728 7374]: "Implementation of Party Policy Brings About Quick and Big Change in Rural Areas"]

[Text] In the golden days of autumn, your reporter paid a visit to Wenjiang County in Sichuan Province, which is always called the granary of our country. Secretary Chen Shouming [7115 1108 2494] of the country youth league committee said: "Though Wenjiang County suffered various serious natural calamities this year, its agricultural production still gains the best harvest since the founding of the People's Republic." He told me emotionally: "What did the bumper harvest depend on? It depended mainly on the fact that the broad masses of commune members began to have fairly adequate democratic rights, and the management of agricultural production was also strengthened. In one word, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee had stipulated various policies for the rural areas, which braced the peasants!"

During my tour in the country, all the cadres of the youth league told me that many production teams divided themselves into work groups according to their actual conditions; this enhanced greatly the labor productivity of the commune members. Jinma commune's league committee secretary, He Guoqing [0149 0948 3237], said: "This year our country has introduced the contract system so that the country government, communes, production brigades, production teams and work groups have all made strict contracts among themselves. All contracts specified clearly the duties and responsibilities of all level; this has eliminated blind command. It is also stipulated definitely in the contracts between the production teams and their work groups: The work groups will receive 50 percent of the surplus of production above the plans as their bonus; in the case of output decrease, they will receive from their production teams a compensation of 20 percent of their loss. In this way, the success and failure of production will be related directly with the personal interests of the commune members. Their enthusiasm soared. This year, the 3rd team of the 11th brigade would not follow the plan of close planting as arranged by the higher level. The brigade said that it was your right of decisionmaking, but you must deliver the amount of grain laid down in the contract. When the rice-sprouts were transplanted, the commune members made daily rounds in the fields to watch the growth lest the output be affected.

The party policy brings about a new atmosphere that they really love the commune as their home!" Yongning commune's league committee secretary, Yi Denghua [2496 4098 5478], told me: "With work groups, there are fixed quotas, the commune members gain more for more work done. Their enthusiasm is truly aroused. Our commune has more fields than labor power; in past years, field work could not be completed during brisk seasons. In May this year, during the period of urgent reaping and sowing, two girls of the first team of the first brigade transplanted 2.7 mu of sprouts in 1 day, and the quality of their work was also very good. Under their motivation, all members of the brigade often accomplished 2 days' work in 1 day. As a result, there was not enough work for them to do. The brigade's league branch secretary was credited with 760 workpoints in the month of May. He said that this way of doing things was beneficial to both the collective and the individuals."

In the implementation of the Central Committee's two documents on accelerating agricultural development, Wenjiang county also introduced the democratic election of production leaders. Qingping commune's league committee secretary, Zhang Zhitian [1728 1807 3944], told me: "The higher level had appointed successively nine team leaders to the first team of the brigade directly attached to our commune, and the team did increasingly worse in production. There was a cadre in this team by the name of Tang Hongquan [0781 3163 0356] who was deposed at the time of the 'four clean-ups campaign.' Though he was capable and resourceful, the higher level wouldn't let him be the team leader. But, the members of the team elected him to the post. Within 1 year, this team became an advanced team." Liujiang commune's league committee secretary, Wang Xiaoping [3769 1420 5689], told me: "The former leader of the eighth team of the first brigade of our commune was a veteran who did not like to work and often borrowed money from the team. The team members were dissatisfied with him, and the team could not make any progress in production. Last year, the team members dismissed him and elected Hong Qiongfang [3163 8825 5364], a female member of the Communist Youth League, in his place. She was concerned about the masses, made herself an example for others, took part in thrashing wheat and worked as hard as the male members by standing on the machine. In 1 year of her term in office, the production team increased the output of rape by 2,000 jin and that of wheat by 1,800 jin. The output of threshed autumn crops surpassed that of the previous year by more than 17,000 jin. Thus, the team stopped the loopholes in finance and paid back old debts of more than 3,000 yuan to the state and other teams. The young members of the team said: "We have the right to elect just, able and trustworthy persons so that we become more enthusiastic in doing our work."

The league cadres also claimed that the economic policy of the party aroused the enthusiasm of the commune members. Yongxing commune's Heping brigade league branch secretary, Zhang Xiuliu [1728 0208 3966], told me: "In the past when we planted rape, we paid no attention to its output. Our oil ration was kept at 4 or 5 jin, and the state took away all our surplus of production. At present, everything is done in strict accordance with the party policy. When we have fulfilled our task of state purchase, the commune members can freely sell the surplus to the state, and the state will buy at a higher price."

In this way, the commune members have very high enthusiasm for planting rape. The 7th production team increased its output of rape seed by 32 jin per mu over that of last year. The average ration of cooking oil reached 11 jin for each person. All team members said that next year they would do still better in planting rape."

9039

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SPORTS PAPER CALLS ON ATHLETES TO WIN FOR COUNTRY

HK150309 Beijing TIYU BAO in Chinese 3 Dec 79 pp 1, 4 HK

[TIYU BAO editorial: "Go Out to the World and Win Glory"]

[Text] Just at the time when the International Olympic Committee has restored the legitimate right of China, our sports have developed to a new stage. The prominent characteristics of this new stage are that we must enter the world sports arena at the highest level. In the past, we only associated with a few countries; in the future, we will have exchanges with most countries in the world. In the past, we mainly participated in individual, regional and bilateral competitions; in the future, we will take part in world competitions and will compete with the best athletes and teams. That is to say, the abnormal situation in which we were excluded from large-scale international competitions will be brought to an end. We will become an important force playing an active part in world sports circles. This new change will exert a tremendous influence and deep impact on promoting China's sports and giving impetus to cooperation and exchanges in world sports.

Sports have a very strong international character. Generally speaking, people from different social systems, races, languages and beliefs can become opponents and partners in the arena of competition. Through competition, they can promote understanding and friendship, improve their techniques and carry on exchanges and cooperation. Of course, today the development and improvement of sports in all countries depends on their own domestic conditions. However, they cannot be independent of the necessary international conditions. In the past, we contributed to improving skills in international sports. We also learned many things from foreign countries and enriched and improved ourselves. For example, through frequent contacts and contests with the world's strong teams, our ability in table-tennis has reached a high level. The world needs China and China needs the world. To develop athletics, a closed-door policy will not work. In the past, we only took part in a small number of international competitions. We lacked experience in competing against the world's first class teams and athletes. Therefore, we could not keep abreast of the current situation and development of skills in many types of sports. We could not

quickly assimilate the advanced skills and experiences. Therefore, sports in China developed rather slowly. Going out into the world is a new starting point for us to change this situation, to make a breakthrough in our skills and to be among the powerful nations in the sports field.

As we go out into the world, we must win glory for our country. In the future world competitions, our skills and results will exert an important international influence. Therefore, we must go out into the world with a new mental attitude, superb skills and a good style. To win competitions and glory for our country, we must win friendship as well as gold medals. Moreover, to win friendship we must first win gold medals. Only if we have the skills of the world's advanced level can we genuinely go out into the world on a full-scale. If we are just participating in world competitions, yet are unable to achieve outstanding results, or only able to obtain good results in a few events but lag behind in most of them for a long period, then the dignity of both our nation and our people will be impaired and the people will not be satisfied.

We are fully confident that China's sports will go out into the world and win glory for our country. During the past three decades, with the attention and concern of the party Central Committee, we have laid a sound foundation for our sports. A comprehensive training system has begun to take shape. We have brought up quite a large team of outstanding athletes and coaches. There is also a reserve force of athletes who meet or approach the advanced world standards, including students in sparetime physical culture schools and over 200 million young students.

[HK150312] In the 1950's and 1960's, our country's athletic skills were improved at a relatively high speed. We set world records in events including weightlifting, track and field, swimming, shooting and archery. In the 1960's, volleyball and gymnastics met or approached world standards. Facts have proved that the Chinese are not stupid when they undertake something. Our athletes have great talents and profound potential to go out into the world. Despite the sabotage and interference of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the fact that this widened the gap between the levels of some sports in China and those of the world, we have a superior socialist system and many favorable conditions. As long as we break down superstition, emancipate our minds, adopt effective measures and provide proper training, we can strive to catch up with or surpass the advanced world level within a rather short period of time.

The situation facing the sports front has changed. How can we adapt our thinking and practical work to the new situation? The overriding task is to resolutely promote athletics and take it as a strategic principle and an urgent task and put it in an even more dominant position. Simultaneously, we must vigorously grasp sports for millions of young people. We must widen our field of vision, take the view of the whole world and closely watch new developments, trends and experiences concerning the level of skills in world sports. We must put the honor of our motherland in first place and firmly

set high aims and lofty aspirations to catch up with and surpass the advanced world standards. We must be imbued with resolution and courage to compete with the world's best teams and athletes. We must readjust and organize teams and make arrangements for training and competition around the major international competitions including those of the olympic games and the Asian games. Sports should be provided for and arranged in line with the requirements of world competitions. If both our thinking and work do not keep pace with the rapid development but remain in the old stage and track, we will have to slow down the speed of going out into the world on full-scale and will fail to accomplish the task entrusted to us by history.

Comrades in the sports front, the curtain of world sports has been raised before us. There are new combat tasks of striving for the country's honor for us to achieve. Let us cherish the high expectations of the party and the people, take vigorous steps and go out into the wide arenas. Let us play an outstanding role, fully display our abilities and perform scenes of live play full of power and grandeur.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEBEI FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS HOLDS ENLARGED SESSION

HK010119 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0430 GMT
23 Dec 79 HK

[Excerpts] The Hebei Federation of Trade Unions held the third enlarged session of its Fifth Committee from 16 to 21 December. The session conveyed the spirit of the second enlarged session of the Ninth Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and made explicit the tasks of trade union work in 1980. It also mobilized the staff and workers throughout Hebei to fight well the first battle in the four modernizations. On behalf of the provincial CCP Committee, committee Secretary Guo Zhi spoke. Hebei Federation of Trade Unions Chairman (Wangyun) made a work report.

In his speech, Comrade Guo Zhi noted: The Hebei provincial CCP Committee holds that in the 17 years before the great cultural revolution, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line had always occupied the position as the leading factor in trade union work in Hebei just as in all places throughout the country. The "syndicalism" of disobeying party leadership, the "economism" of not focusing on production, being detached from politics and paying attention only to the immediate interests, and the problem of "three unions and one syndicalism" as attacked and slandered by Lin Biao and the gang of four simply did not exist. It was wrong that our province in 1958 criticized former Hebei Federation of Trade Unions Chairman (Du Cunxun) and other comrades for engaging in antiparty, antipeople and antisocialist economism and syndicalism. The punishment on them was also wrong; it was even more erroneous that Comrade (Du Cunxun) was stigmatized as a "rightist." We should repudiate all slanders and rumors, make proper corrections, reverse incorrect verdicts on them and have their reputations restored.

In his report, Comrade (Wang Yun) emphatically noted five key points in next year's trade union work: 1) We must go further in widely, penetratingly and persistently launching labor emulations in increasing production and practicing economy; 2) We must be concerned about the livelihood of the staff and workers and uphold their immediate interests; 3) We must carry out congresses of staff and workers under the leadership of the party committees and insure that the staff and workers exercise their rights

as masters; 4) We must strengthen the political and ideological work of staff and workers and promote the political and ideological work of staff and workers and promote the political situation of stability and unity; and 5) We must do well in promoting spare-time education of staff and workers and enhance their cultural and technical levels.

The session also adopted a resolution repudiating the decision of the first congress of the Third Committee of the Hebei Federation of Trade Unions on punishing Comrade (Du Cunxun), and elected the fifth funds examination committee of the Hebei Federation of Trade Unions.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUIZHOU RIBAO' COMMENDS COUPLES WITH ONLY ONE CHILD

HK271007 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 24 Dec 79
HK

[GUIZHOU RIBAO 25 December commentator's article: "Each Couple Had Better Have Only One Child"]

[Excerpts] The article said that doing a good job of planned parenthood and controlling population growth are important tasks in readjusting the national economy. In accordance with the spirit of the central authorities, the provincial CCP Committee has demanded that the rate of natural population growth in our province be greatly reduced to below 9 per 1,000 in 1980 and to below 5 per 1,000 in 1985.

How can we achieve this target? We must vigorously advocate marriage and child-bearing at a mature age and early sterilization. We must reward couples with only one child and strictly control couples with two children and resolutely prevent them from having a third child. That is to say, we must gradually shift the work focus on planned parenthood to "we had better have only one child." The change from what we advocated in the past that each couple could have two children to having only one child is a major change. Our ideology, understanding and work must meet this new requirement.

The article points out that the key to doing a good job of planned parenthood lies in strengthening leadership. Party committees at all levels must include planned parenthood in their important agenda. We must start work early. All departments must attach importance to this work. To do a good job of this work, we must conduct large-scale publicity and education. We must resolutely implement the policy on rewarding couples with only one child. To get rid of the masses' worries about having only one child, we must make a success of childcare, maternity and infant health work. Medical departments at all levels must gradually set up clinics for only children and strengthen health service for these children so that they will grow up healthily.

In conclusion, the GUIZHOU RIBAO commentator's article emphatically pointed out that Guiyang, Zunyi, Anshun and Duyun municipalities, the seats of all prefectures, autonomous prefectures and counties and all organs, factories, mines, enterprises and PLA units stationed in the province must take the lead in this aspect. After these places and units have done a good job of this work, they can then push such work forward in the rural areas and promote the development of planned parenthood work throughout the province.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'XINHUA' HIGHLIGHTS STORY OF EDUCATED YOUTHS

OW010316 Beijing XINHUA in English 0249 GMT 1 Jan 80 OW

[Text] Hefei January 1 (XINHUA)--The story of eight educated youths in Anhui Province provides an answer to the question of whether educated youth can develop their talents in the countryside.

Starting from scratch, this group of eight youths in a people's commune in Feidong County, now can produce a dozen or so varieties of pesticides and pharmaceutical products for veterinarian use. The output value of their production rose to 200,000 yuan. Besides covering the daily cost and expenses for carrying on their scientific experiment, they have accumulated 80,000 yuan for the commune.

This group of young people, much welcomed by the peasants, came mostly from the big cities of Shanghai and Hefei, the capital city of the province. Their average age was 26 years.

The group leader is 31-year-old Yan Honghua. He returned to the countryside in 1968 from middle school.

In 1970, with two other educated young people, he set up a scientific experimental group. They first used left-over bits and pieces from a meat processing plant and tannery to make soap. In eight months and after 500 tests, they were able to shorten the saponification process from several hours to 15 minutes under constant pressure and temperature.

Later on the small group set up a small factory. According to the needs of the peasants, they trial-produced pesticides and pharmaceutical products for veterinarian use. They produced injections from Chinese herbs which not only prevented and cured animal diseases in the commune, but also cured more than 2,000 pigs for the households of the peasants. The cost of medicine is 70 percent lower than that of Western medicine.

To prevent plant diseases and wipe out insect pests, they processed more than 10,000 kilogrammes of microbial pesticides.

They also successfully trial-produced ultra-low-volume sprayers, two walking machines for planting rice seedlings, and repaired 200 hand tractors for the commune free of charge.

They also ran technical classes to train hand tractor drivers and plant-protection members and veterinarians for the communes and brigades nearby.

Yan and his group members have a library with over 3,000 books, and often study till late at night. They often read many books to design new agricultural implements that suit their own specific needs. In the past few years, they wrote 13 articles about their experiments. They also exchange information with other organizations.

This group of young people has become a model for the young all over China.

Yan Honghua, the leader of the group said: "Life would mean nothing to one without any aim. My aim is to devote myself to modernization in agriculture."

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'XINHUA' REPORTS ON EDUCATION IN XINJIANG

OW030832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0714 GMT 3 Jan 80 OW

[Text] Urumqi, January 3 (XINHUA)--Every one out of four people in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region is in primary or middle school or in college, according to the regional educational authorities.

Education was one of the ten major tasks set by the second session of the fifth people's congress of the autonomous region held last autumn. At a recent meeting on education work, Wang Feng, secretary of the regional party committee, called for more schools to teach in minority nationality languages and to show respect for the customs and habits of minority nationality teachers.

Eight institutes of higher learning have been restored and two added in the past two years. The region's 12 colleges and institutes have a total of 11,000 students.

The autonomous region has 90 technical schools with 38,500 students. Every prefecture, city and autonomous zhou has such a school. The number of high schools is now 2,000, as against 300 in 1965. The students body is 794,000. Every county and even some communes have senior high schools.

About 94.8 percent of school age children in the autonomous region are enrolled in 9,100 primary schools this year.

The Xinjiang Autonomous Region, stretching over one sixth of China's territory, is inhabited by 12 minority nationalities. The state has paid great attention and allocated special appropriations for education in this area. In a number of border districts, the schools and textbooks are free of charge.

The Kazakh nationality, 90 percent of whom were illiterate at the time of liberation, and the Uzbek, Tartar and Sibo nationalities now have their own college lecturers, agronomists, engineers and doctors.

In recent years, two teachers' colleges and a college for advanced training of teachers and five secondary teachers schools have been set up. There are now 19 secondary teachers schools that graduated 5,600 people in 1978.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEBEI HOLDS FORUM ON EDUCATION FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

HK010806 Shijianzhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0430 GMT
20 Dec 79 HK

[Summary] The Hebei provincial forum on education of youths and juveniles was recently held in Shijianzhuang. The forum analyzed the current situation of youths and juveniles in the province and discussed problems and specific measures concerning the education of youths and juveniles. Yin Zhe and (Zhao Yiming), secretaries of the provincial CCP Committee; and (Wang Yu), Standing Committee member of the provincial CCP Committee, attended.

Yin Zhe delivered an important speech pointing out: "Strengthening the cultivation and education of youths and juveniles is a major task which has a direct bearing on the growth of a whole generation. The whole party, particularly leading comrades of party committees at all levels, must attach great importance to and show deep concern for it. Party organizations at all levels must include the education of youths and juveniles in their agenda. We must grasp it several times a year." Yin Zhe demanded: "All departments concerned must regularly examine, sum up and improve the work of educating youths and juveniles."

The comrades present at the forum held: "Due to the interference of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the gang of four and the influence of their reactionary ideology and fallacies, youths and juveniles were deeply harmed and poisoned."

The forum stressed: "To do a good job of educating youths and juveniles, we must begin with the ideological reality of youths and juveniles and, with a definite goal in mind, carry out ideological and political work. We must lay stress on positive education. In accordance with the characteristics of youths and juveniles, we must adopt a lively method. In particular, we must mobilize youths and juveniles to take part in the practical activities of serving the people so as to constantly heighten their political and ideological awareness and to strengthen their ability to spontaneously resist the corruption by the ideology and behavior of the exploiting classes at home and abroad. At present, we must particularly lead the errant and backward youths to good behavior."

The forum pointed out that it is essential to carry out the activities of learning from Lei Feng and striving to become new long march shock workers in the urban and rural areas throughout the province. It is necessary to show concern for the livelihood of the youths and juveniles. Under the leadership of party committees at all levels, labor departments, educated youths offices and urban neighborhood organizations must actively arrange employment for the youths who are awaiting employment.

The forum was attended by responsible comrades of the propaganda departments of all prefectural and municipal CCP Committees, education bureaus, culture bureaus, public health bureaus, labor bureaus, trade unions, CYL, women's federations and departments concerned at the provincial level.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TIANJIN HOLDS MOBILIZATION RALLY ON EDUCATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE

SK290606 Tianjing City Service in Mandarin 1330 GMT 26 Dec 79 SK

[Excerpts] The Tianjin municipal CCP Committee called a mobilization rally for young people's education work at the city stadium on 25 December. Yan Dakai, secretary of the Tianjin municipal CCP Committee, attended and addressed the rally. He called on the whole party and the people to save young people who have taken a wrong step in life.

More than 5,000 people attended the rally, including responsible comrades of various district and county bureau party committees, party and CYL organizations of colleges, middle and primary schools, factories, enterprises, finance and trade departments and neighborhoods as well as public security offices. Also attending the rally were responsible comrades of the Tianjin municipal CCP and revolutionary committees, various municipal departments, committees and offices, municipal trade union council, municipal CYL committee and municipal women's federation.

Wang Yifu, deputy secretary of the municipal CCP Committee, presided over the rally. He said: [Begin recording] We are holding today a mobilization rally to strengthen the education of young people. It is held under the centralized leadership of and organized by the municipal CCP Committee. It is a rally designed to organize and mobilize the efforts of various sectors and to arouse the whole party and the people to vigorously strengthen the education of young people and to reform and save those who have taken a wrong step in life. [End recording]

Yan Dakai, secretary of the municipal CCP Committee, addressed the rally. He said: [Begin recording] Today's rally is sponsored by the municipal CCP Committee to mobilize efforts for strengthening the education of young people. On 5 December, the municipal CCP Committee held here a rally for strengthening public security and order, which has drawn enthusiastic response from various sectors. The broad masses warmly support the decision to vigorously and resolutely crack down on the most vicious criminals. At the same time, in response to the call of the party and government, many young people who made various mistakes have surrendered themselves to the

public security organ, confessing their wrongdoings of their own accord and exposing those of others. Their actions are warmly welcomed by the party and people. The public security and order has already taken a turn for the better. [End recording]

In his speech, Comrade Yan Dakai sincerely told those young people who took a wrong step in life and are still hesitating and worrying at the cross-roads that the party and government have given you such a good opportunity, we ardently hope that you forsake evil for good, turn a new leaf and quickly return to the embrace of the party and people. We would also like to warn those who continue to do evil things or who have committed serious crimes that unless you surrender yourselves to the government before it is too late, you will receive stern blows and will not be able to escape the net of justice forever.

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WUHAN MUNICIPALITY PROMOTES MORAL EDUCATION OF YOUTH

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 6 Oct 79 p 1

[Article by reporter Wang Fakai [3076 4099 2818]: "Wuhan Municipality Does 10 Good Things for the Youth To Strengthen Their Moral Education"]

[Text] Wuhan municipality paid serious attention to the work of youth education, positively did 10 good things for the youth, effectively promoted the change of the social fashion and greatly aroused the enthusiasm of the broad masses of youth people for learning and doing the Four Modernizations. At present, the city has maintained law and order well, and juvenile crimes are gradually decreasing. Among the young people, an encouraging situation is developing in which they are consciously developing a new fashion and striving to make contributions to the Four Modernizations.

These 10 good things were summed up at the Hubei provincial conference for exchanging experiences in communist moral education of the young people.

No 1: Setting up a joint conference system and a youth education network. The CCP Wuhan Municipal Committee assigned two secretaries to youth education and set up a joint conference system. The committee should regularly call a joint conference of departments concerned to study the mental attitude of the youth, and to formulate measures of strengthening youth education. Youth education offices were set up at the municipal, ward and street levels, with 118 office workers specially assigned for the work of youth education. Initially, a network of youth education is taking shape throughout the city.

No 2: Filling out the ranks of league cadres and youth education instructors. The municipal party committee believed that there must be personnel to do the work of youth education. The Communist Youth League should train the necessary cadres, and its organization should be enlarged. According to actual conditions, they increased the cadre ranks under the municipal league committee. All the 64 streets of the city were equipped with special league cadres. In addition, 302 full-time instructors were appointed for youth education, and 3,653 part-time instructors were also employed. The personnel of the municipal youth palace was increased to 88 in number. The municipal party school also added 50 beds for the training of league cadres.

No 3: Financing the activities of youth education. Since the beginning of this year, the municipal party committee has on two occasions appropriated special funds of 150,000 yuan and 750,000 yuan respectively for the activities of youth education and for the operation of work-study schools for young people. The ward party committees have also appropriated more than 300,000 yuan, among which the Qiaokou ward on one occasion appropriated 200,000 yuan for the construction of the "youth home" and the cultural center and other places of activity. This plays an important role in promoting the work of youth education.

No 4: Restoring and opening positively the grounds for youth activities. At present, the municipality has a youth palace of 130,000 square meters, and has restored 324 sites for the activities of the young people. Furthermore, the municipal government has operated jointly with cultural centers 520 places of youth activity, with a total area of 33,900 square meters, twice as many as before the cultural revolution.

No 5: Giving priority to the supply of equipment required by centers of youth activity. Formerly when youth centers wanted to buy television receivers, they were restricted by the purchasing power of the social groups. For the sake of strengthening youth education, the municipal party committee recently decided to do away with this restriction and give priority to supplying them with TV sets. At present, besides the municipal youth palace, the youth homes and cultural centers of all levels have 577 TV receivers and 930,000 books. They have also many newspapers and periodicals as well as articles for cultural activities and physical exercise.

No 6: Grasping vigorously the work of rehabilitating and employing the young people. Up to the end of August this year, the municipal authorities have helped over 65,000 unemployed youths to get jobs, that is, 77.4 percent of the total number of unemployed youths. Many neighborhood committees have operated cultural classes for the young people to prepare themselves for further education in schools and for seeking employment.

No 7: Mobilizing the people of various quarters to do the work of helping and reforming guilty youths. Through investigation and study, the municipal party committee took a number of serious offenders among the guilty youths as the target for reform, and organized helping groups consisting of cadres, teachers, parents and neighborhood policemen. In 6 months, these groups carried out the painstaking and meticulous work of helping and reforming these young people, with fairly good results. A number of juvenile delinquents changed themselves.

No 8: Operating work-study schools. To collectively educate, save and reform young offenders, the municipal party committee decided to operate a work-study school in each of the six wards of the municipality. At this moment, two schools have started classes.

No 9: Actively rehabilitating juvenile offenders released from reform through labor and those who have reformed themselves by education. The municipal party committee instructed the departments concerned to give them jobs and to promptly commend and employ those who have made quick progress. Since the beginning of this year, 49 percent of these young people have been employed.

No 10: Mobilizing all departments concerned to publicize the moral education of youths. The responsible comrades of the municipal party committee on many occasions discussed and studied with the departments concerned the problem of publicizing youth education. The municipal broadcasting station held special forums on moral education. The municipal league committee, the municipal bureau of education, the municipal bureau of public security and other units compiled and printed respectively materials on moral education for the study of young people. The "Chiangjiang Ribao" opened a special column to publish reports and exemplary experiences on youth education. This has promoted the work of youth moral education.

The CCP Hubei Provincial Committee paid serious attention to Wuhan municipality's experience. From 23 to 28 September, the committee's propaganda department, the CYL Hubei Provincial Committee and four other units jointly held in Wuhan municipality a provincial conference for exchanging experiences in communist moral education of the young people. The Wuhan Municipal CCP Committee, the municipal league committee, the municipal bureau of public security and other 9 units explained their experiences at the conference. Those who took part in the conference included heads of propaganda departments of all district and municipal party committees, secretaries of league committees and also the responsible comrades of education bureaus, trade unions and women's associations. The responsible comrades of the league central committee and the comrades of the Ministry of Public Security were present at the conference. The responsible comrades of league committees of 12 provinces and autonomous regions and 25 municipalities in south China were present as observers. During the period of the conference, Chen Peixian [7115 0012 7359], first secretary of the CCP Hubei Provincial Committee, and responsible comrades of Wuhan Municipal Party Committee and the league central committee made speeches.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

HENAN WOMEN'S CONGRESS--In the afternoon of 7 December, all the representatives of the Sixth Henan Women's Congress elected the new leadership organ of the Henan Women's Federation. Through thorough consultation, 115 Executive Committee members were elected to the Sixth Henan Women's Federation. Another 15 were elected as alternate Executive Committee members. On the morning of 8 December, the Sixth Executive Committee of the Henan Women's Federation held the first session and elected the chairman, vice chairman and Standing Committee members. The chairman is (Chen Yufeng) and the vice chairmen are (Liu Ko), (Sun Fengzhen) and (Ma Huilan). [HK011638 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Dec 79 HK] Li Baoquang, vice chairman of All-China Women's Federation, made a report at the Sixth Henan Women's Congress on 8 December on behalf of the All-China Women's Federation. In her speech, she highly evaluated the role of women in realizing the four modernizations, discussed the specific situation of women and their close relations with the four modernizations and urged them to fulfill the lofty tasks of women's movement in the new period. [HK011638 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Dec 79 HK]

JIANGXI UNITED FRONT WORK--The Jiangxi conference on united front work was held from 20 to 28 November in Nanchang. Present at the conference were directors of the united front work departments of all prefectures, municipalities and mountains and some countries as well as responsible comrades of all provincial units concerned who are in charge of united front work, 97 people in all. The conference mainly conveyed and implemented the spirit of the national conference on united front work, studied the important instructions of leading comrades of the central authorities regarding united front work and also the relevant documents of the central authorities, obtained a clear picture of the fundamental change regarding the class situation at home, discussed the nature, principles and tasks on the united front during the new historical period, exchanged the experiences in united front work in Jiangxi, distinguished between right and wrong in line, eliminated the remnant poison and influence of the ultra-leftist line of Lin Biao and the gang of four and also made arrangements and formulated plans for Jiangxi's united front work. Comrade Luo Mengwen, director of the united front work department of the Jiangxi provincial

CCP Committee, conveyed the spirit of the national conference on united front work and put forward views regarding the current united front work of Jiangxi. Comrade Yang Shan'gui, secretary of the Jiangxi provincial CCP Committee, spoke at the conference on behalf of the provincial CCP Committee. [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Dec 79 HK]

OVERCOMING 'HAN CHAUVINISM'--The Liaoning provincial CCP Committee issued a circular recently to call for efforts to carry out extensive and penetrating reeducation on the party's nationality policy among the cadres and people throughout the province during this winter-spring period. The circular states: The emphasis of the reeducation is to overcome Han chauvinism. Presently this is also a key to improving relations among nationalities and strengthening unity among nationalities. Of course, minority areas should also overcome local-nationality chauvinism if it exists. The reeducation should be carried out among minority cadres and people and, more important, among cadres and people of Han nationality. Leading organs and leading persons should particularly receive the reeducation. In addition, youths in schools should also receive it. PLA units and public security departments should consider the reeducation on the nationality policy an important component of their political work and consider the work of improving their relations with minority nationalities as an important part of their work of maintaining close relations between the army and the people. The circular urges all units at or above [words indistinct], especially leading party, government and army organizations, while conducting the reeducation, to review extensively how the party's nationality policy has been implemented. [Excerpt] [SK271349 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 25 Dec 79 SK]

HENAN ILLITERACY--The Henan provincial CCP Committee and the Henan people's government recently issued instructions on eliminating illiteracy to enhance the cultural, scientific and technological level of the masses and peasants to conform with the requirements for realizing the four modernizations. The people in Henan have scored very great achievements in eliminating illiteracy. By 1965, this task was close to completion, but it regressed for several years due to the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the gang of four. The instructions pointed out that all trades and professions must regard the elimination of illiteracy and the study of culture and technology as important conditions for selecting advanced collectives and individuals. [HK030829 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Dec 79 HK]

GUANGDONG CYL CONFERENCE--The Guangdong work conference on Young Pioneers work held by the Guangdong CYL Committee in Guangzhou concluded on 2 December after convening for 6 days. The conference called on the CYL organizations at all levels throughout the province to be concerned about the work of the Young Pioneers, strengthen their leadership over the work and strive to fulfill the glorious tasks that the party has handed to them. The conference pointed out that it is necessary to recruit all the juveniles and

children before grade three, launch colorful activities for the Young Pioneers, seriously do a good job of cultivating the instructors and build an outstanding rank of instructors. On the morning of 2 December, (Deng Huixia), deputy secretary of the Guangdong CYL Committee, made a summation at the conference. [HK150647 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 2 Dec 79 HK]

GUANGZHOU PLA PLANNED PARENTHOOD--The rates of planned parenthood, contraception and late marriage in the Guangzhou PLA units are on the increase each year, fulfilling the quotas of the higher levels with comparatively better results. At present, 3,000 couples in the units are voluntarily willing to have only one child in response to the party's call. Recently, the Guangzhou PLA units held the first congress of the progressive units and individuals in planned parenthood. The order of the Guangzhou PLA units was read out at the congress to cite 64 units and 77 individuals. [HK030829 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 11 Dec 79 HK]

SICHUAN YOUNG PIONEER CONFERENCE--The fourth work conference of the Young Pioneers in Sichuan concluded on 2 December. The participants listened to the conveyance of the spirit of the sixth national conference on Young Pioneers and the speech of Secretary Du Xinyuan at the education conference of the young people and juveniles held by the Sichuan provincial CCP Committee. Zhang Lixing, Standing Committee member of the Sichuan provincial CCP Committee, also spoke. They also discussed the tasks and current work of the Young Pioneers in the new long march and exchanged experiences. It is necessary to help them launch various activities of culture and physical culture. Young Pioneers are the organizations belonging to the juveniles and children. It is therefore necessary to let them look after themselves by themselves and give full play to their activism, initiative and creative spirit and cultivate their collective viewpoints and democratic spirit. It is necessary to build a strong rank of instructors and continue to do a good job of training, and strive to win the concern of the various circles in society for the work of the Young Pioneers. [HK150710 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 2 Dec 79 HK]

YUNNAN TRADE UNION MEETING--The Yunnan Federation of Trade Unions recently held a meeting of the trade union cadres throughout the province. The meeting called on the trade unions at all levels throughout the province to strengthen the ideological and political work of the staff and workers and mobilize them to make contributions to the four modernizations. The meeting pointed out that it is necessary to grasp the rectification and building of the trade union organizations in Yunnan, seriously do a good job of ideological and organizational rectifications, launch the movement to increase production and practice economy and resolutely uphold the interests of the workers. The trade union cadres at all levels must effectively change their work style, go deep into the basic level and obtain a clearer picture of the sufferings of the masses. A responsible comrade of the Yunnan provincial CCP Committee also attended the meeting and gave an important speech,

urging the party committees at all levels to strengthen their leadership over trade union work. At present, it is necessary to organize the staff and workers to study Comrade Ye Jianying's important speech. [HK150710 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1330 GMT 1 Dec 79 HK]

NATIONAL PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION--Beijing, December 21 (XINHUA)--A Chinese publishers' association was founded in Changsha yesterday. Delegates from publishing organizations throughout China attended the meeting. A council of 140 members was elected, with one seat reserved for Taiwan Province and two seats for Hongkong and Macao. Hu Yuzhi, vice chairman of the national people's political consultative conference, was elected honorary chairman of the council, and Chen Hanbo, acting director of the state publication administration bureau, was elected chairman. The constitution of the association was approved at the meeting. It provides that the association will promote all aspects of publishing, sponsor academic activities, give prizes for outstanding work, uphold the legal rights of publishers, and organize welfare facilities for workers in the publishing industry. It will also have the task of strengthening contacts with publishers in Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao, and arranging academic exchanges with publishing houses in other countries. [Text] [OW210745 Beijing XINHUA in English 0729 GMT 21 Dec 79 OW]

PUBLICATION ON CHINESE LITERATURE--Beijing, December 25 (XINHUA)--The first issue of an academic publication centering on the study of literature of China's new democratic revolution period (1919-1949) came off the press today in Beijing. It carries studies on famous modern Chinese writers ranging from Mao Dun to Hu Shi. The series called "Studies in Modern Chinese Literature" will also carry memoirs and biographies of writers since the May 4, 1919 movement and other historical material. Co-edited by the newly formed society of modern Chinese literature representing the city's universities and colleges and the Beijing Publishing House, the new series is inviting articles from diverse views and encourage detailed discussion. The first issue starts a column on Lu Xun with five special papers. Autobiographical notes from Xu Qinwen, U Boxiao, Bi Ye and Han Zi and notes on modern essayists are included in the first issue. Faculty and students of Chinese literature departments of universities and colleges, middle school language teachers and amateur writers are expected to form the main readership. [Text] [OW250906 Beijing XINHUA in English 0714 GMT 25 Dec 79 OW]

GUTIAN CCP MEETING MUSEUM--Fuzhou, December 26 (XINHUA)--A museum of the historic Gutian meeting of the Communist Party of China which took place 50 years ago has been reopened after renovation. The museum is housed in the traditional style compound in Gutian village, Fujian Province, where the meeting was held. Exhibits show how Mao Zedong drafted the resolution for the ninth party congress of the Chinese Red Army's Fourth Army which was held there in December 1929. The congress is generally referred to as the Gutian Meeting. The resolution was published under the title "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party". Among the 60 valuable historical

documents and other relics added to the collection are photos of Zhou Enlai and facsimiles of operational plans signed by him, battle orders issued by Zhu De, proclamations of the Red Fourth Army, and poems written at that time by Chen Yi. The rearranged displays show the congress in its true light, correcting the distortions made by Lin Biao and the gang of four of this historic event. [Text] [OW260824 Beijing XINHUA in English 0713 GMT 26 Dec 79 OW]

FAMILY REUNIFICATION MEASURES--Beijing, December 19--Thousands of families in which husbands and wives worked in different cities have been reunited this year through work transfers arranged by the government and their organizations. Most of these families are intellectuals whose specialties require them to work in specific places. In Tianjin 2,800 families of engineers, lecturers, doctors, researchers and agronomists were reunited. Harbin solved such a problem for 3,640 families. Similar efforts are being made in Beijing and Shanxi, Hebei and Hunan provinces. Another form of separation is caused by workers coming to the cities to get jobs in industry while their wives remain in the countryside. Shengli oilfield has arranged for 23,000 workers' wives to join their husbands. The wives now work raising grain and vegetables on some 9,000 hectares of reclaimed land and in 66 subsidiary factories of the oilfield. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0215 GMT 19 Dec 79 OW]

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